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A L A R G E
C O L L E C T I O N

O F A N C I E N T

Jewish and Heathen Testimonies

To the T R U T H of the

C H R I S T I A N R E L I G I O N ,

W I T H

N O T E S A N D O B S E R V A T I O N S .

V O L . I .

Containing the J E W I S H T E S T I M O N I E S , and the T E S T I M O N I E S
of H E A T H E N A U T H O R S of the First Century.

By N A T H A N I E L L A R D N E R . D . D .

L O N D O N : M . D C C . L X I V .

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1881

COLLEGE

1881

THE COLLEGE OF THE HOLY TRINITY

1881

CHRISTIAN RELIGION

1881

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P R E F A C E.

8-26-48 J. M.
* I *
T is well known, that I have long since intended a Collection of Passages of Jewish and Heathen Authors, who bear Testimonie to the Books, or Facts of the New Testament, or the Affairs of Christians in their own Times. I have also intimated, that I had by me large materials for that purpose : at the same time expressing my doubts, whether I ever should be able to put those materials into * order. But God, in his good providence, has prolonged my life. And having completed the Supplement to the Second Part of the Credibility of the Gospel History, I have now put my collections of Jewish and Heathen Testimonies into such order, that it has been judged not improper to begin the publication.

This part of my design has been long deferred. But I hope, it is not the worse for that.

A 2

Many

* See the Preface to the 12th Volume of the Second Part of the Credibility of the Gospel History, near the end, published in the year 1755.

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Many others of late times have made collections of this kind.

This Argument was not omitted by Mr. *Addison*, in his *Evidences of the Christian Religion*, who has insisted, though briefly, upon the Testimonies of *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, *Pblegon*, *Dion*, *Celsus*, *Macrobius*, and other Heathen Authors, and made good remarks upon them: intending likewise to add the Testimonies of Jewish Writers, but was prevented by death.

In the year 1733. was published a book with this title: *An Appeal to the genuine Records and Testimonies of Heathen and Jewish Writers, in Defense of Christianity: By Thomas Dawson, D. D. Vicar of New Windsor, some time Member of Convocation.* †

That work has a pompous title, from which a great deal might be expected: but it is little more than an angry declamation against Dr. *Sykes*, for not shewing due respect to *Pblegon*, and *Dionysius the Areopagite*. I have made no use of that work. Nor do I know, that I shall have occasion to take any farther notice of it.

An Argument in Defense of Christianity, taken from the Concessions of the most ancient Adversaries, Jews, and Pagans, Philosophers and Historians. By Gregory Sharpe, L. L. D. Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Society of Antiquarians. * I am indebted to this learned Author, and shall quote him sometimes.

In 1725. J. A. Fabricius published a volume in Quarto concerning *the Truth of the Christian Religion.* || In the 32. Chapter of which volume

† It is in two parts: 201 pages for the first part, and 112 for the second, in octavo.

* A small volume of 166 pages, published in 1755.

|| *Delectus argumentorum, et Syllabus Scriptorum, qui veritatem Religionis Christianae adversus Atheos, Deistas, . . . lucubrationibus suis asseruerunt.* Hamb. 1725.

This volume is a Catalogue of Authors, who have supported the evidence of the Jewish and Christian Religion by Testimonies of Heathen writers. †† Where are mentioned many Authors, with whom I am unacquainted, as well as others, whom I have seen, and of whom I shall take notice presently.

Le Clerc, who in the year 1727. revised that work of Fabricius, in his *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne*, observes, that †* *there are in Pagan Authors, still remaining, Testimonies and Events, which may be*
of

†† Cap. xxxii. *Ethnicorum Testimonia, veritatis Religionis Naturalis, Judaicae, et Christianae suffragantia.* *Ibid.* p. 634. . . . 643.

†* Il y a dans les Auteurs Payens, qui nous restent, des temoignages et des evenemens, qui peuvent beaucoup servir à confirmer la verité de la Religion Chrétienne. C' étoit le sentiment d' Herman Conringius, qui étoit, comme l'on sait, un tres-savant homme. *Bib. A. et M. T.* 27. P. i. p. 71.

Le Clerc here follows the modern way of speaking. Which indeed is now in use with all learned men in general. But Heathen people were not called *Pagani*, *Pagani*, before the year of Christ 365. about which time, and afterwards, that denomination became common in Latin Authors, as *Prudentius*, *Salvian*, *Orosius*, *Augustin*. That denomination is supposed to have had it's rise from the state of things at that time. Sacrifices were prohibited by Christian Emperours in cities, but allowed of for a while in villages and countrey-places. But I do not recollect, that this way of speaking is adopted by the Greek ecclesiastical historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret: though they wrote after this stile was common in Latin authors. To me it seems not quite proper, to call those writers *Pagani*, who lived before the times of the Christian Emperours. I therefore generally say, *Heathens*, *Gentils*, *Greeks*: *Heathenism*, *Gentilism*, *Hellenism*.

Haec omnia, ut in *Urbibus* primo sublata, sic permissa ad tempus in *Pagis* et vicis, ubi templa aliquamdiu Gentilibus patuere. . . . Unde Paganorum nomen enatum est, primum auditum sub Imperatoribus Christianis, primumque Paganorum mentio exstat in L. xviii. Cod. Theod. *De Episcopis*, &c. Valentiniano et Valente. A. A. Coll. *Spanhem. Hist. Christ. Sec. iv. T. i. p. 836. Vid. et Jac. Gothofred. in notis in Tit. de Paganis.* Et *Conf. Pagi ann. 351. num. v.*

Præceperas mihi, ut scriberem adversus vaniloquam pravitatem eorum, qui alieni a Civitate Dei, ex locorum agrestium compitis et pagis, *Pagani* vocantur, sive *Gentiles*. *Oros. Hist. l. 1. cap. 1.*

of great use to confirm the Truth of the Christian Religion. The same is said by Herman Conringius, who, as is well known, was a very learned man.

Unquestionably, Conringius, of Brunswick, was a very learned man, Author of many valuable works, and in great esteem with divers Princes * of Germanie. But I wish, that Le Clerc had quoted his words at length, or referred to the work, in which Conringius delivered his judgement upon this point, and where, possibly, he so enlarged upon it, as to afford us some instruction.

Houtteville, in his work, entitled, *The Christian Religion proved by Facts*, and in his *Historical and Critical Discourse*, prefixed to it, † has alleged the testimonies of many Jewish and Heathen Writers, *Celsus, the Emperour Julian, Porphyrie, Jamblichus, the Talmud and the Rabbins*. Fabricius, in the forecited volume, has given a large account of this performance.

I may not omit *Tobias Eckhard*, who has published a learned and useful work, entitled, †* *The Testimonies of such as are not Christians, collected from ancient Monuments*. Of which there have been two editions, both in my hands: and from which I have reaped benefit. This Author also is in the forementioned catalogue of Fabricius.

*The ** Christian Religion confirmed by the Testimonies of ancient Pagan*

* See the *Dictionarie and Supplement of Moreri*.

† A large volume in Quarto, at Paris, in 1722.

†* Non-Christianorum de Christo Testimonia, ex Antiquis Monumentis propofita et dijudicata. Quarto. 1725. et 1736.

** La Religion Chrétienne autorifée par le temoignage des anciens Auteurs Payens. Par le P. Dominique de Colonia, de la Compagnie de Jefus. A Lyon. 1718.

Pagan Authors, by *Dominique Colonia*, of the *Society of Jesus*. This Author likewise is in the catalogue of *Fabricius*, who ‡ calls him a polite and eloquent writer.

This work has a nearer resemblance with mine, than any other, which I have met with. Many Authors are here ††* quoted. And *Colonia* gives some account of them, for shewing the value of their testimonie. I shall often quote him, or refer to him. Whereby the character of the work, and the judgement of the Author, will be apparent to my readers. Undoubtedly, he has learning, and zeal. But some allowances must be made for the credulity of his Church.

However, it can little become me to pass censures upon others, who am as liable to be censured : and may fall into mistakes, notwithstanding my best care to avoid them.

One fault in my work may be reckoned to be very obvious, which is the prolixity of it. In regard to which, I beg leave to say beforehand, that I aim to be distinct and particular. These things have been already slightly touched upon by many. I propose to enlarge, and set them in a fuller light. I allege passages of ancient authors at length. I settle their time : I distinguish their works, and endeavour to shew the value of their testimonies. I intend likewise to
allege

‡ . . . elegans ac disertus scriptor. *Fabr. ubi supra. p. 635.*

††* Tom. I. ch. I. Phlegon, et Thallus. ch. II. Ammianus Marcellinus. III. Mark Antonin. Dion. Capitolinus. Claudian. Themistius. IV. Plutarch. *Where comes in the pilot Thamus.* Strabo. Lucan. Juvenal. V. Claudian. *again.* VI. Chalcidius. Amelius. and Macrobius. VII. Cornelius Tacitus. VIII. Celsus, the Epicurean. IX. The Philosopher Porphyrie. . . . Tom. 2. ch. I. Lampridius. II. The Younger Pliny. III. The Sophist Libanius. IV. The Emperour Julian, the Apostate. V. Lucian, of Samofata. VI. Rutilius Claudius Numatianus. VII. The Emperour Antonin the Pious. VIII. The Emperour Mark Antonin. *again.* IX. The false Prophet Mahomet. X. Josephus the Historian. XI. The true Acts of Pilate.

allege the judgements of divers learned moderns who have gone before me in this service. All the persecutions of this time are a part of my subject, as they were appointed by Edicts of Heathen Emperours, and were carried on by Heathen Governours of provinces, and officers under them. I shall have an opportunity to shew the patience and fortitude of the primitive Christians: and the state of Judaism, Gentilism, and Christianity, in the first four centuries. As most of the Authors to be quoted by me are men of great distinction in the Republick of Letters, some occasions will offer for critical observations, which cannot be all declined. But nice and intricate questions will be carefully avoided, that the whole may be upon the level with the capacities of all, who are inquisitive, and disposed to read with attention.

In the first volume are the Jewish Testimonies, and the Testimonies of Heathen Authors, who lived in the first centurie.

In the second Volume are Heathen writings of the second centurie: Among which are the Letter, of the Younger Pliny to Trajan, and that Emperour's Rescript: which will give occasion for many observations concerning the sufferings of the Christians at that time, and afterwards: and the remains of the work of Celsus against the Christians, preserved in Origen. Which afford an early, and very valuable testimonie to the genuinnesse of the books of the New Testament, and to the truth of the evangelical historie.

¶

In the third Volume will be Ulpian, Dion Cassius, Porphyrie, Hierocles, and other Heathen Writers, and a historie of the several persecutions of the Christians in the third centurie, concluding with that of the Emperour Diocletian.

The

The fourth and last Volume, (not †† yet finished,) in which will be the Emperour Julian, Ammianus Marcellinus, Libanius, and other Heathen Writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, may be as entertaining, as any of the rest. But it cannot be so important. Julian, in his work against the Christians, may mention the names of the Evangelists, and of the other writers of the New Testament, and quote the books more distinctly than Celsus. But his testimonie to the Scriptures in the fourth centurie, cannot be so valuable, as that of Celsus in the second. However, these also deserve to be collected, and put together in their proper order. We shall there see the last struggles of expiring Gentilism, and some attempts to restore it, after it had been for a while exploded with scorn and disdain. And we may meet with more than a few men of great learning, and fine abilities, who were still tenacious of the ancient rites, and fond of all the fables, upon which they were founded, and by which they had been long upheld and encouraged.

The Author professes great impartiality. For which reason he is not without hopes, that his work, notwithstanding some imperfections, may be approved by the candid of every denomination. If it shall be of some use to promote good learning, and true religion, he will have great reason to be well pleased.

†† Divers chapters of the fourth volume are composed. But some others are still wanting.



C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

F I R S T V O L U M E.

Jewish Testimonies.

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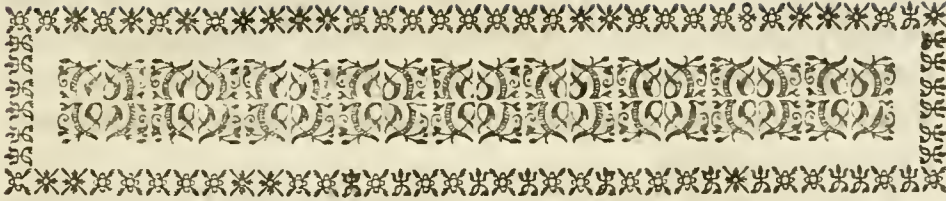
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J E W I S H
T E S T I M O N I E S.



C H A P. I.

The Faith of many Jewish Believers in early
Times, a valuable Testimonie to the Truth
of the Christian Religion.

*I. That many of the Jewish People believed in Jesus as
the Christ, shewn from the Books of the New Testa-
ment. II. From other ancient Writings. III. Their
Faith a valuable Testimonie.*

I. THE Lord JESUS was born at Bethlehem, and brought up at Nazareth, and in Judea, (understanding thereby the land of Israel,) he fulfilled his ministrie. At Jerusalem he was crucified. There he arose from the dead, and thence he ascended to heaven.

*That many Jews
believed
in Jesus
as the
Christ,
shewn
from the
N. T.*

A short time before his appearance in the world, John, called the Baptist, a man of an austere character, and acknowledged by all to be a Prophet, who acted with a divine commission, preached to the people, saying: *Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.* "Be persuaded by me, to reform your lives, and break off every evil

course by repentance. For the kingdom of God by the Messiah, long since promised by God, and foretold by the Prophets, is now about to be erected among you, which is a dispensation of the greatest purity and perfection, the privileges of which are appropriated to sincere penitents only, and really good men." He also pointed to Jesus, as the person, who was to set up that kingdom, and was much greater than himself.

Soon after which Jesus also appeared preaching the like doctrine in the name of God: recommending the practise of strict and sublime virtue in heart and life, with a view, not to honour from men, or any other worldly advantages: but with an eye to the favour and approbation of God, who knows all things. These were the general terms proposed by him: forgiveness of past sins upon repentance, and eternal life to perseverance in the profession of the truth, and the practise of virtue: without any assurances of worldly riches, honour or preferment, and with frequent intimations of many difficulties, and external discouragements.

As he went about preaching that doctrine, he wrought many miracles, healing all men who came to him, of the diseases they labored under: and raising to life, some who had died. And twice he miraculously fed in desert places with a few loaves and small fishes great numbers of men, who had long attended upon his discourses. At the beginning of his ministrie, and during the time of it, there were some extraordinarie manifestations from heaven, bearing testimonie to him, as the *beloved Son of God*, or the Messiah, the great and extraordinarie person, who had been long since foretold, and promised, as the *seed of the woman, that should bruise the head of the serpent, the seed of Abraham, in whom all the families of the earth should be blessed*, and the *Son of David*, in whom the promise of an extensive and everlasting kingdom was to be fulfilled. Of all which things the blessed Jesus sometimes, in the later part of his ministrie, reminded the Jewish people, his hearers, to induce them to act according to evidence, and to improve the present opportunity, and
accept

accept the blessings offered to them, lest they should expose themselves to the divine displeasure and resentment. But, as before hinted, he never invited any with assurances of worldly advantages from him. And all were at liberty to act according to their own judgment, and to go away, or stay with him. John vi. 66. . . 71.

Wherever he went, preaching that excellent and heavenly doctrine, he was attended by many : who plainly discerned it to be superior to that of their ordinarie teachers, the scribes and pharisees, and that he spoke and acted, as a Prophet, with divine illumination and authority. The people in general were so well satisfied of his great character, that they could not help wondring, that their scribes and rulers, for whom they had a great respect, did not publicly acknowledge him to be the Messiah. *And many of the people believed on him, and said : When the Christ cometh, will he do more miracles, than these which this man has done ?* Again, *And many resorted unto him, and said : John did no miracle. But all things that John spake of this man were true. And many believed on him there.* John vii. 31. and see ch. ix. 20. 34. John x. 40. . 42.

Nevertheless among the chief rulers also many believed on him : but because of the Pharisees they did not confess him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue. For they loved the praise of men more than the praise of God. But Nicodemus, a Pharisee, and a Ruler, and in the very early part of our Lord's ministrie, came to him of his own accord, and acknowledged him to be a teacher come from God. And it is very likely, that he went away fully convinced, that he was the Christ. And when the Jewish Council reproved their officers for not having apprehended Jesus, and brought him before them, Nicodemus, being one of them, pleaded his cause, saying : *Doth our law judge any man, before it hear him, and knows what he doeth ?* For which he was reviled, as very ignorant, and greatly mistaken. However, he afterwards attended the burial of Jesus, together with Joseph of Arimathea, another disciple of Jesus, but secretly, for fear of the Jews. He was a rich man, and an honourable Counsellor. Who went

John xii. 42, 43.
John iii.
ch. vii. 45. . 51.
John xix. 38. 42.

Matth.
xxvi.
xxvii.

went to Pilate, and begged the body of Jesus, and wrapt it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own new tomb, hewen out of a rock.

Mark xv.
Lu. xviii.
Mat. ix.
Mark v.
Luk. viii.
John iv.
Mat. viii.
Luke vii.

Beside them, *Jairus*, ruler of a synagogue, and a Nobleman of Capernaum, were disciples of some distinction. And there may have been some others in like stations, who paid their respects to Jesus, though they are not named. The centurion at Capernaum had such faith in Jesus, as to believe him able to heal his sick servant at a distance, by speaking a word only. He was a Gentil, but he was in esteem with the *Elders of the Jews*, who lived in that city. And they also joyned with him in the request to Jesus to heal his sick servant, *say*ing, *that he was worthy, for whom he should do this*. So that they also were persuaded in their minds, that Jesus had

Luke viii.

power to perform so great a miracle. Not now to take any notice of our Saviour's female disciples, though they also were, some of them, respectable for their outward condition, as well as for their eminent virtue.

Out of the number of his disciples Jesus chose twelve, to be generally with him, and to be employed by him, whom he named *Apostles*. Who, notwithstanding some imperfections, and failings, owing to the prevailing prejudices of the Jewish people, all continued faithfull to him, excepting only Judas the traitor, a man of a worldly and covetous disposition. And though the miscarriage and losse of Judas could not but be a great grief and discouragement to them, the other eleven kept together, even after the death of their Lord.

When he was risen from the dead, he came again among them, and shewed himself to them. And though they were not to be persuaded without good proof, in the end they were all satisfied, that it was he.

Acts i.

Having in the space of forty days been often seen by them, and having frequently conversed with them, *speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God*, he was in their sight taken up into heaven.

Soon

Soon after which, when they were assembled together, to the number of *about one hundred and twenty*, another, named *Matthias*, was chosen in the room of Judas, to be a witness with the rest of the things concerning the Lord Jesus, and particularly his resurrection from the dead.

At the next following Pentecost the Holy Ghost in a remarkable manner came down upon the Apostles and their companie, agreeably the promise, which Jesus had made to them. And hence forward the Apostles, being fully qualified, preached to all men in the name of Christ, exhorting them to repentance, with the promise of the remission of sins, and everlasting salvation. Acts ii.

Such was the effect of St. Peter's first discourse at Jerusalem, after our Lord's ascension, that *there were added to them about three thousand souls*. And afterwards such accessions were made, that their number was *about five thousand*. Acts ii. 41.
Acts iv 4:

But though many miracles were done by the hands of the Apostles, and the whole company of the believers behaved in a very becoming manner : infomuch that it is said, *they had favour with all the people*, and again, that *the whole multitude of them that believed, was of one heart, and of one soul : neither said any of them, that ought of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things common* : yet they met with many difficulties, and were ill-treated by the Jewish rulers. Peter and John were apprehended and brought before the Council, and examined, and were then commanded, *not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus* : And they were farther threatened, if they transgressed that order. But they, nevertheless, thinking themselves obliged to persist in their work, and *to obey God, rather than men* ; in a short time afterwards, all the Apostles were taken up, and put *in the common prison*, and then brought before the Council. And having been *beaten*, and again commanded, *not to speak in the name of Jesus*, they were dismissed. Soon after this, *Stephen*, a man of great eminence, and usefulness, among the disciples, was stoned. And *James*, brother of John, one of the chief Apostles Acts ii. 49.
.. iv. 32.
Acts iv.
ch. v.
ch. vi. vii,

Acts xii.

Apostles of Jesus, was beheaded by order of Herod Agrippa, then King in the land of Judea. *And because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther to take Peter also, and put him in prison, intending after Easter to bring him forth to the people.* But now Divine Providence interposed : Peter was miraculously delivered out of prison. And Herod died under tokens of divine displeasure. What is added is well worthie of observation. *But the word of God grew, and multiplied.*

And gradually the Apostles and their fellow-laborers, with divine approbation and encouragement, enlarged their views, and preached the Gospel to *Samaritans*, and then to *Gentils*. But wherever they went, they first addressed themselves to the Jewish inhabitants, and particularly, in their synagogues, which there were at that time in many cities of Greece, and elsewhere, and usually had some converts among them. The evidences of the Christian religion were fairly and openly proposed, and to many they appeared sufficient, and satisfactorie. The whole argument is briefly summed up in those words of St. Paul before the Governour Festus, and King Agrippa, and the rest of that great audience. *Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue to this day, witnessing both to small and great, saying none other things, than those which the prophets and Moses did say should come : That the Christ should be liable to sufferings, and that being the first who rose from the dead, to dye no more, he should shew light unto the People, and to the Gentils.* Acts xxvi. 22, 23. Thus, at Antioch in Pisidia, it is said of Paul and Barnabas,

Acts xiii.

14.

ver. 43.

they went into the synagogue on the sabbath day. Where Paul made a long discourse. . . Now when the congregation was broken up, many of the Jews, and religious, or worshipping profelytes, followed Paul and Barnabas, who speaking to them, persuaded them to continue in the grace of God. Afterwards, at Iconium, *they went both into the synagogue, and so spake, that a great multitude of the Jews, and also of the Greeks believed.* And in like manner at other places. And particularly, at Thessalonica. Acts xvii. 1. and at Beroea. ver. 10. At Athens,

. . . xiv. 1,

2.

ver.

ver. 17. At Corinth. xviii. 4. At Ephesus. xviii. 19. and 26. When Paul came to Rome, he was a prisoner. He therefore could not go to any Jewish synagogue. But being *suffered to dwell by himself, with a soldier that kept him, he called the chief of the Jews together. . . . And when they had appointed him a day, there came many to him into his lodging : to whom he expounded and testified the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the law and the prophets, from morning to evening. And some believed, and some believed not.* *Acts xxviii. 16. . 24.*

As for the Jews at Jerusalem, we know from the historie of the Council held there in the year of Christ 50. about the terms, upon which the Gentils should be received, that the believers were then numerous there, and greatly concerned for the establishment and propagation of the gospel. And when St. Paul came thither again, at the Pentecost of the year 58. as we compute, the believers there were still steady and numerous. And St. James, the Apostle who presided there, and the Elders, reminded him, saying : *Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are that believe.* By which I suppose to be intended chiefly the church at Jerusalem : though some others may be included, who were come up thither upon occasion of the feast. And about four years after this, near the end of his imprisonment at Rome, or soon after it, Paul wrote his epistle to *the Hebrews*, or the believers at Jerusalem, and in Judea, not excluding such as lived elsewhere, to confirm and strengthen them, and fortify them against discouragements. *Acts xv. ch. xxi. 20.*

Indeed, it should be particularly observed by us, that there were societies of believers in other parts of Judea, beside Jerusalem. For in the account of things about the year of Christ 40. it is said : *Then had the churches rest throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria, and were edified : and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied.* And St. Paul, in his epistle to the Galatians, speaks of his being *unknown by face unto the churches of Judea, which are in Christ.* See likewise 1 Thess. ii. 14. *Acts ix. 31. Gal. i. 22.*

Nor were all these men of the lowest rank and condition. For in the general account of the early progress of the gospel, we are told :
Acts vi. 7. And the word of God increased, and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly. And a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith. And we can reckon up some by name, who upon several accounts were men of eminence. *Nicolas*, a proselyte of Antioch, then residing at Jerusalem, who generously undertook a share in providing for the poor of the church : a man of substance, undoubtedly, and probably a man of good understanding, and great probity. *Barnabas*, a Levite : a native of Cyprus, where he had an estate in land, which he sold for the relief of those believers in Jesus, who were poor and indigent. *Paul*, a Pharisee, son of a Pharisee, a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, educated in Jewish learning at Jerusalem, under *Gamaliel*, a doctor of the law, and had in reputation among all the people, and not unacquainted with Greek literature, and a person of uncommon acuteness, who of a violent persecutor, became a sincere convert to the faith, and a zealous preacher of the gospel. In which service he labored as fervently, and as successfully, as any other of the Apostles : shewing therein great fidelity, and self-denial. Whose disinterestedness had been so conspicuous, that he could openly appeal to the world, and say : *Though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant to all, that I might gain the more.*
1 Cor. ix. 19.

The character of this person is so extraordinary, that I must enlarge somewhat in his history : notwithstanding the brevity, which I have prescribed to myself in this article. By the special choice and designation of Jesus Christ, after his resurrection from the dead, he was added to the other twelve Apostles, *that he might bear his name before the Gentils, and kings, and the children of Israel* : though it was foreseen, that he would suffer many things in that service. In the course of his ministry he preached, and asserted the Christian doctrine to the Jewish people in general, and before the Jewish Council at Jerusalem. He pleaded also, and preached the doctrine of Christ before *Felix* and *Festus*, Roman Governours of Judea, and before King

*Acts ix.
15, 16.
and
xxvi. 16.
. . 20.*

*Acts xxii.
xxiii.
xxiv. xxv.
xxvi.*

King *Azrippa*, and his sisters *Drusilla*, and *Bernice*, who were Jews by religion, and in the presence of many other personages of great distinction at *Cesarea*, the residence of the Roman Governour. He also pleaded (a) before the Emperour *Nero* himself at *Rome*: by whom was signed the order of his confinement in that city, which was a kind of free custodie. *Where he dwelt two whole years in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching those things, which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, and with great successe, no man forbidding him.* At the end of which period he was discharged, and set at liberty, by the same authority by which he had been confined. And then he went abroad again, preaching the gospel as he had done before, and visiting and confirming the Christian Churches in several places. Afterwards, as we have reason to believe, he came to *Rome* again. And there, in the year 64. or 65. in the persecution of the christians ordered by the same Emperour, he suffered martyrdom, being beheaded, as a Roman citizen: so bearing his final testimonie to the truth of that doctrine, which he had long preached with great zeal and diligence: I now proceed.

Acts
xxviii.
30, 31.

The Chamberlain and Treasurer of Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, a Jewish profelyte, who had come up to Jerusalem to worship. His high station, and the great trust reposed in him, are arguments of his ability and fidelity. His journey to Jerusalem indicates his zeal for the religion, which he had embraced. And his reading the Jewish sacred scriptures, as he was returning in his chariot, shews his studiousness to understand them. His discourse with Philip, a disciple of Jesus, who drew near to him, manifests inquisitiveness, and openness to conviction, which are laudable dispositions. And his conversion to the faith of Jesus is therefore a testimonie to the truth of the Christian Religion, which cannot be slighted.

Acts viii.
36. . 40.

C 2

Judas

(a) See the second vol. of the Supplement to the Credibility, &c. p. 250. &c.

Acts xv.
22.
xvi. 37.
xviii. 2.
xvi
2 *Tim.* i.

Acts xii.
12.
Col. iv.
10.

Judas and Silas, chief men among the brethren at Jerusalem: and the later of them, as it seems, a Roman Citizen. *Aquila and Priscilla*, Jews of Pontus, persons of good understanding, and uncommon piety. *Timothie*, a young man of good understanding at Lystra, who from his childhood had been instructed in the scriptures of the Old Testament, being the son of a Jewess. His mother *Eunice*, and his grandmother *Lois* also were believers. *John Mark*, an Evangelist, son of *Marie*, a woman of great zeal and courage in the profession of the Christian religion, an inhabitant of Jerusalem, and nephew to Barnabas. *Luke*, another Evangelist, by some thought to be the same as *Lucius of Cyrene*. *Acts* xiii. 1. If so, he was a Jew by birth. If he was not that *Lucius*, yet very probably he was a Jewish proselyte, before he became a Christian. With that *Lucius of Cyrene* is mentioned, in the place just referred to, *Manaen*, who had been brought up with *Herod the Tetrarch*. A (b) person, undoubtedly, of a liberal education.

Acts
xviii. 24.
ch. xviii.
8. . . 17.
1 *Cor.* i.
1. and 24.
Tit. iii.
13.

Apollos, a Jew of Alexandria, an eloquent, or learned man, and mighty in the Scriptures, of the old Testament. *Crispus*, and *Sosthenes*, rulers in the Jewish synagogue at Corinth: and *Zenas*, a Jewish Lawyer.

All these I have reckoned up briefly, and imperfectly, (*) among the

(b) Μαμαντις Ἡρώδης τῷ τετραρρχῷ συντροφός. *Herodis Tetrarchae collataneus*. Vulg. "At vocabulum συντροφός latius patet, significatque eum, qui a prima aetate cum altero educatus est. Grot. in loc.

(*) I say imperfectly. For I have not rehearsed all the Jewish believers, who are expressly mentioned, and by name. I have omitted several: as *Jason*, who was so friendly to St. Paul, at *Thessalonica*, as related, *Acts* xvii. 5. . . 9. *Sopater of Berea*, *Acts* xx. 4. These two seem

to be the same, who are mentioned again. *Rom.* xvi. 21. where they appear to have been the Apostle's kinsmen. And therefore must have been Jews. *Aristarchus* a *Thessalonian*. *Acts* xx. 4. who is mentioned again in the epistle to the *Colossians*. iv. 10. 11. writ during the Apostle's imprisonment at Rome, or near the end of it, in the year 62. Where St. Paul calls him his fellow-prisoner. And reckons him among those of the circumcised, who had been his fellow-workers unto the

the Jewish believers: designedly omitting converts from among the Gentils. All these Jews by their faith and profession bore a testimony to Jesus, well deserving our regard. For they must have acted under as great discouragements, as can be conceived. They underwent the keenest reproaches from the unbelieving Jews their neighbours: for receiving a person as the Messiah, who instead of working out a great deliverance for their nation, as was generally expected, and earnestly desired, had himself undergone an ignominious death. For my own part, I always think of these early Jewish believers with peculiar respect. I am not able to celebrate all the virtues of their willing and steady faith under the many difficulties which they met with. But I am persuaded, that when the Lord Jesus shall come again, he will bestow marks of distinction upon those who extricated themselves out of the snares, in which their close connexions with others had involved them. And as *they were not ashamed of him, and his words, but confessed his name in the midst of an adulterous and sinful generation: he will not be ashamed of them, but will confess them, and own them for his, when he shall come in the glorie of his Father, with the holy angels.*

*Mark
viii. 38.
Mat. x.
32.*

For certain, I apprehend, that the faith of the Jewish believers is of greater importance, than the unbelief of other Jews in the time of Jesus, and his Apostles.

II. What has been hitherto alleged, we know from the books of the New Testament. It will be worth while to attend also to the informations of Ecclesiastical Historie.

*The same
shewn
from other
ancient
writers.*

There is good reason to believe, that no Christians were involved in the miseries of the last siege of Jerusalem. They are supposed to have left it, before the siege began. Some went to Pella, as mentioned

the kingdom of God. Mnason of Cyprus, by attentive readers of the Acts, and St. an old disciple. Acts xxi. 16. And there Paul's Epistles. are divers others, who may be observed

tioned by Eusebius, (c) a city on the other side Jordan. Others might go elsewhere, into (d) Asia, or (e) other remote countreys, where they could get a settlement. St. John, (f) as I suppose, left Judea, and went to Ephesus in the year 66. or thereabout, a short time, before the war commenced. Some Jews of Jerusalem, and other parts of Judea, might go with him, or follow him afterwards. And under his direction and assistance, they might procure a comfortable settlement in some places not far from him.

After the war was over in Judea, it is supposed, that the believers, who had retired into the countrey beyond Jordan, returned to Jerusalem, and formed a church there.

James, the Lord's brother, who had presided in the church of Jerusalem, died, as we suppose, in the year of Christ 62. who was succeeded by Simeon. In his ecclesiastical Historie (g) Eusebius placeth his election after the destruction of Jerusalem. But in his Chronicle (h) it is so expressed, as if it had been done immediatly after the death of James. That is no very material circumstance. Nor are we able to determine, which is right, for want of sufficient evidence. By Hegesippus he is (i) said to have been son of Cleophas, brother of Joseph: and therefore was our Lord's cousin-german. But Eusebius mentions that in a doubtfull manner. We should therefore, as I apprehend, be cautious of being too particular in our decisions about

(c) *H. E. l. 3. cap. 5. p. 75. A. Vid. et Epiph. H. 29. vii. H. 30. n. ii.*

(d) *See the Supplement, Vol. i. p. 346. 347. Ch. ix. §. iii. and Vol. iii. Ch. xx. p. 311. 312.*

(e) *Credibile est, Judaeae Christianos, non tantum Pellae, ad ortum Jordanis, commoratos esse, sed et per vicinas, immo et remotiores Romani Imperii provincias, in quibus tutiores esse poterant, sparsos esse: &c. Cleric. H. E. Ann. 71. num. i.*

(f) *See the Supplement to the Credib. Vol. i. p. 346. . . 349.*

(g) *H. E. L. 3. cap. xi.*

(h) *Jacobus frater Domini, quem omnes Justum appellabant, a Judaeis lapidibus opprimitur: in cujus thronum Symeon, qui et Simon, secundus assumitur. Chr. p. 161.*

(i) . . . Ἀρέφιον ὡς γε φασὶ γεγονότα τῷ σωτήρι. Τὸν γὰρ ἐν Κλωπᾷ, ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ υπέρχειν Ἡγησίππος ἰσχυρεῖ. *H. E. l. 3. s. xi. p. 87. Conf. l. 4. cap. 22. p. 142. C.*

about it. However, Eusebius (*k*) justly reckons him among the eye and ear-witnesses of the Lord. And according (*l*) to Hegesippus, whose Ecclesiastical Historie Eusebius had before him, he suffered martyrdom in Trajan's persecution. We therefore without hesitation place his death at the year of our Lord 107, where also it is placed by Eusebius in (*m*) his Chronicle. Simeon was then 120 years old. By order of Atticus, President of Syria, he was crucified. He must therefore have been born several years before our Lord. And supposing him chosen Bishop of Jerusalem in the year 62. he presided in that church more than 40 years.

He was succeeded by *Justus*, a Jew. And, as Eusebius adds, "there (*n*) were then many believers of the circumcision." "The (*o*) times of the ensuing successions of Bishops at Jerusalem, Eusebius says, he could never learn. But it was said they had sat in the See for a short time only. This he had learned from ancient writers, that to the war in Adrian's time, (about the year 132.) there had been fifteen successions, who were all Hebrews by birth, and had held the genuine doctrine of Christ." Whose names are all put down by him. In this catalogue of fifteen Eusebius reckons *James* the first, *Simeon* the second: after which there follow thirteen more. Why their times were so short, we cannot say. There is no reason to think, that any of them were taken off by persecution. But possibly they were all in years, seniority being esteemed a ground of preference. After (*p*) their defeat by Adrian, the Jews were forbid
to

(*k*) Λογισμῷ δ' αὖ καὶ τὸν Συμεῶνα τῶν αὐτοπτῶν καὶ αὐτηκίων ἄπο αὐτῆς γεγονέναι τῷ κυρίῳ. *L. 3. c. 32. p. 104. B.*

(*l*) *Apud Euseb. H. E. l. 3. c. 32. p. 104. G.*

(*m*) Trajano adversus Christianos persecutionem movente, Simon filius Cleopae, qui in Jerosolymis episcopatum tenebat, crucifigitur. Cui succedit Justus. Ignatius quoque Antiochenae ecclesiae

episcopus Romam perductus bestiis traditur. *Chr. p. 165.*

(*n*) . . Τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐπισκοπῆς τὸν θρόνον Ἰσδαΐος τις ὄνομα Ἰῆσος, μυρίαν ὄσων ἐκ περιτομῆς εἰς τὸν χριστὸν τῆνικαὐτὰ πεπιστευκότων εἰς καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῶν διαδέχεται. *l. 3. c. 35. p. 106.*

(*o*) *L. 4. cap. v.*

(*p*) *Ib. l. 4. cap. 6. Vidi et Chron. p. 167.*

to come to Jerusalem. From that time the church there consisted of Gentils, whose first Bishop was named *Mark*.

That there were Jews who believed in Jesus, we are assured even by *Celsus*, the Epicurean, who wrote against the Christians about the middle of the second century. In divers parts of his work he personates a Jew. It is likely, that he had conversed with divers unbelievers of that nation. He consulted them, that they might assist him in his argument against the Christians, and likewise furnish him with scandal against them, if they could. "In (q) this manner, says Origen, this personated Jew addresseth those who had believed from among the Jews. What ailed you, fellow-citizens, that you forsook the law of your country, to follow him, whom we mentioned just now, by whom you have been miserably deceived, leaving us, and going over to another name, and another way of living?"

And Origen, in his books against *Celsus*, says, "that (r) the Messiah had been foretold so long, and by so many, that the whole nation of the Jews were in earnest expectation of his coming. But since the birth of Jesus, they have been divided in their opinion. For many of them have believed, that Jesus is the person, whom the Prophets foretold. But others rejected him, despising him, because of the meanness of his outward character."

Irenaeus says, "there (s) were many of the circumcision, who believed in Jesus, who rose from the dead, hearkening to Moses and the Prophets, who before hand preached the coming of the Son of God."

Among

(q) *Contr. Cels.* l. 2. §. 1. p. 57. *Conf.* §. 3. p. 58. 59.

(r) .. "Ωσε το Ιουδαίων έλον έθνος ήρτημένον τής περι τή έπιζομένη έπιδημήσειν προσδοκίας, ές την προς άλλήλους ζήτησιν έληλυθέναι, τή Ιησού έπιδημήσαντος· ή πολύ μέν πληθος αυτών άμολογηκέναι χριστόν, ή πεπιστευκέναι αυτόν είναι τόν προφητευόμενον· τούς

δὲ μὴ πισύοντας, κ. λ. *Contr. Cels.* l. 3. n. 28. p. 127.

(s) — etiam ipsum Dominum, qui resurrexit a mortuis, in quem et credunt multi, qui sunt ex circumcisione, qui et Moysen et Prophetas audiunt praedicantes adventum Filii Dei. *Iren.* l. 4. cap. ii. §. 4.

Among these Jewish believers there were different sentiments. Origen says, “there (*t*) were two sorts of Ebionites: some, “who believed Jesus to have been born of a virgin, as we do. Some, “who supposed Jesus to be born, as other men are.” Origen speaks of both sorts of these men, as fond of the Jewish observances. Afterwards, (*u*) in the same book against Celsus, he says, that both sorts of the Ebionites, like the Encratites, rejected St. Paul’s Epistles. Nor did they consider him, as a wise, or good man.

Eusebius, in his Ecclesiastical Historie, in a chapter, entitled *Of the Heresie of the Ebionites*, speaks to the like purpose. “Some, (*x*) “says he, who are not to be moved by any means from their respect “for the Christ of God, are in some respects very infirm. They “are called by the ancients Ebionites, because they have but a low “opinion of Christ, thinking him to be a mere man, born of Joseph “and Marie, honoured for his advancement in virtue: and esteeming the ritual ordinances of the law necessarie to be observed by them, “as if they could not be justified by faith in Christ only. Others “of them do not deny, that Jesus was born of a virgin by the Holy “Ghost. Nevertheless they do not acknowledge his pre-existence “as God the Word. And like the others, they are fond of the “external observances of the law of Moses. They also reject Paul’s “epistles, and call him an apostate from the law.”

(*t*) . . . ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰουδαίων νόμον ὡς τὰ Ἰουδαίων πλῆθι βεῖν ἐθέλοντες. Οὗτοι δ’ εἰσὶν οἱ διττοὶ Ἐβιωναῖοι, ἥτοι ἐκ παρθένου ὁμολογῶντες ὁμοίως ἡμῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἢ οὐχ οὕτω γεγενῆσθαι ἀλλ’ ὡς τὸς λοιπὰς, ανθρώπους. *Contr. Cels. l. 5. §. 61. p. 272.*

(*u*) Εἰσὶ γὰρ τινες αἱρέσεις, τὰς Παῦλος ἐπιστολας τῷ ἀποστόλῃ μὴ προστιέμεναι, ὥσπερ Ἐβιωναῖοι ἀμφότεροι, καὶ οἱ καλέμενοι Εὐχρησταί. Οὐκ ἂν ἔν οι μὴ χρώμενοι τῷ ἀποστόλῳ, ὡς μάκαρίῳ τινὶ καὶ σοφῷ. *Ib. n. 65. p. 274.*

(*x*) Ἀλλὰς δὲ ὁ ποιητὴς δαίμων τῆς περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τῷ Θεῷ διαθέσεως ἀδυνατῶν ἐκσεῖσθαι,

θαυταρλήπτως ἐνυρῶν, ἐσσετερίζετο. Ἐβιωναῖοις τέτοις ἐκείως ἐπεφύμιζον οἱ πρῶτοι, πτωχῶς καὶ ταπεινῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ δοξάζοντα· λιτὸν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ κοινὸν ἡγνῶτο, κατὰ προκοπὴν ἥδεις αὐτὸ μόνον ἀνθρώπον δεδικαιωμένον, ἐξ ἀνδρός τε κοινωρίας καὶ τῆς Μαρίας γεγεννημένον . . . Ἄλλοι δὲ παρὰ τέτοις τῆς αὐτῆς οὕτως προσηγορίας, ἐκ παρθένου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μὴ ἀρνέμενοι γεγενῆσθαι τὸν κύριον, καὶ μὴν ἐθ’ ὁμοίως καὶ ἔτοι προὔπερχεν αὐτὸν θεὸν λόγον ὅντα καὶ σοφίαν ὁμολογῶντος. *κ. λ. L. 3. cap. 27. p. 99.*

These two learned ancient authors speak of two sorts of *Ebionites*, therein, as (y) may be supposed, including those who are sometimes called *Nazareans*, and were the descendents of the Jewish believers at Jerusalem.

It may be also here observed by us, that many learned men are now of opinion, that there never was any man named *Ebion*, the leader of a sect: but that the *Ebionites* were so called from their low opinion concerning the person of Christ, and their attachment to the external rites of the law of Moses. And that opinion, as I apprehend, is much countenanced by the passages, which have been just quoted.

We cannot deny, that there were some believers, who supposed Jesus to have been born, as other men. But I apprehend, that the number of these was very small. Nor do I recollect any Christian writing now extant, where that opinion is maintained.

We must also allow, that there were some, who (z) rejected the Apostle Paul, whilst they received the other Apostles. These likewise I suppose to have been few in number. I know no work of any ancient author now remaining, who speaks disrespectfully of him, excepting only (a) *the Recognitions*, or *Clementin Homilies*, of which we formerly took particular notice.

As for the other *Ebionites*, called also *Nazareans*, it is allowed, as we have just seen, that they believed Jesus to be born of a Virgin, by an especial Interposition of the power of God, or by the Holy Ghost. These also received the Apostle Paul. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were writ by a Jewish believer of this character

(y) Et Origines, cum duplices facit Ebionaeos in disputatione contra Celsum, Ebionaeorum nomine abutens, sub priore illa nota Nazaraeos, ut credibile est, describat. *Grot. Prol. in Matt. p. 5.*

(z) Nota, quod primi Apostoli Salvatoris literam Sabbathi destruunt adversus

Ebionitas, qui quum ceteros recipiant Apostolos, Paulum quasi transgressorem legis repudiant. *Hieron. in Matt. xii. 2. T. 4. P. i. p. 46.*

(a) See the *Credib. P. ii. Vol. ii. p. 787. 788. and p. 794. . . 796.*

character in the second centurie. He plainly received Paul, and his Epistles, and the Acts of the Apostles, as was shewn (*b*) formerly. It is a very curious work. When it came in my way, I enlarged in my extracts of it. Nor do I now repent of that labour.

That the *Nazareans*, called also believers from among the Hebrews, received Paul, is apparent from Jerome's commentarie upon Is. ix. 1...3. quoted Matt. iv. 15, 16. "The (*c*) Nazareans, says he, whom I before mentioned, endeavor to explain this text after this manner. When Christ came, and began to enlighten the world with his doctrine, the land of Zabulon and Naphtali was first delivered from the errours of the Scribes and Pharisees, and shook off from their necks the heavie yoke of Jewish traditions. Afterwards by the preaching of the Apostle Paul, who was the last of all the Apostles, the preaching was encreased, and even multiplied: and the gospel of Christ shone out among the Gentils, and by *the way of the sea*. At length the whole world, that had walked, or *sat in darknesse*, and had been held in the chains of idolatrie and death, saw the clear light of the gospel." So, he says, that text was explained by the *Nazareans*, whom just before he called *the Hebrews that believed in Christ*.

That the Nazareans received all Christ's Apostles, is evident from the passage just transcribed. It is also manifest from Jerome's commentarie upon Is. xxxi. 6...9. "The (*d*) Nazareans, says he, un-

D 2

derstand

(*b*) See the *Credib. P. 2. Vol. 2. p. 760.*
... 764.

(*c*) Hebraei credentes in Christum hunc locum ita edisserunt. . . Nazaraei, quorum opinionem supra posui, hunc locum ita explicare conantur. Adveniente Christo, ac praedicatione illius coruscante, prima terra Zabulon et terra Nephtali Sribarum et Phariseeorum est erroribus liberata, et gravissimam traditionum Judaicarum jugum excussit de cervicibus

suis. Postea autem per evangelium apostoli Pauli, qui novissimus omnium apostolorum omnium fuit, ingravata est, id est, multiplicata praedicatio: et in terminos gentium, et viam universi maris Christi evangelium splenduit. Denique omnis orbis, qui ante ambulabat, vel sedebat in tenebris, et idolatriae ac mortis vinculis tenebatur, claram evangelii lucem aspexit. *In Is. cap. ix. T. 3. p. 83.*

(*d*) Nazaraei locum istum sic intelligunt.

“derstand this place after this manner. O ye children of Israel,
 “who under the worst direction denied the Son of God, return to
 “him, and to his Apostles. For, if you do that, you will then
 “cast away your idols, which have been a sin to you : and the de-
 “vil shall fall before you, not by your own power, but by the mer-
 “cy of God : and his young men, who before fought for him,
 “shall be tributary to the church, and all his strength and power
 “shall be subdued.”

The Ebionites (*e*) are said to have adhered to the injunctions of the law of Moses, after they had received the gospel of Christ. “Some of them, as (*f*) Jerome intimates, were for imposing the “legal observances upon all men, as necessarie to salvation. But the “other Ebionites, (or *Nazareans*) as the same ancient and learned “writer owns, observed those appointments themselves, as being of “the seed of Israel, without imposing them upon others.” These were evidently of the same opinion with the believers in the church of Jerusalem. See the Acts of the Apostles, ch. xxi. And divers learned moderns (*g*) are now convinced of this, and readily allow, that the Jewish believers, who were called *Nazareans*, did not im-
 pose

gunt. O filii Israel, qui consilio pessimo Dei Filium denegastis, revertimini ad eum, et ad Apostolos ejus. Si enim hoc feceritis, omnia abjicietis idola, quae vobis prius fuerant in peccatum : et cadet vobis diabolus, non vestris viribus, sed misericordia Dei, et juvenes ejus, qui quondam pro illo pugnaverant, erunt Ecclesiae vectigales, omnisque fortitudo et petra illius pertransibit. *In If. cap. xxxi. T. 3. p. 267.*

(*e*) Simul arat in bove et asino Ebion, dignus pro humilitate sensus paupertate nominis sui, qui sic recipit evangelium, ut Judaicarum superstitionum, quae in um-

bra et imagine praecefferunt, caeremonias non relinquat. *Hieron. in If. cap. i. T. 3. p. 9.*

(*f*) Audiant Ebionaei, qui post passionem abolitam legem putant esse servandam. Audiant Ebionitarum focii, qui Judaeis tantum, et de stirpe Israelitici generis haec custodienda decernunt. *Id. in If. cap. i. T. 3. p. 15.*

(*g*) Ego ad eos accedere non vereor, qui statuunt, Nazaraeos, nullos Christianorum, nisi Judaeos, et Abrahae posteros, legi Mosaicae allegare voluisse, &c. *Moshem. de Reb. Christ. ante C. M. p. 330.*

pose the ordinances of the law upon others, though they observed them, as descendents of Israel, and Abraham.

The Ebionites, or some, who went under that denomination, must have received the Acts of the Apostles. "For, as (b) we learn "from Epiphanius, they said, they were called Ebionites, or poor, "because in the times of the Apostles they *sold their goods, and laid "them at the Apostles feet* : and by that means they had voluntarily "reduced themselves to poverty. For that reason men called them "poor, but they gloried in the name." Manifestly referring to the historie in the fourth and fifth chapters of the Acts. They who received that book, must have received Paul, and all the Apostles of Jesus, and, very probably, all their writings, which were received by other christians.

I suppose likewise, that all the Jewish believers in general received the gospel of St. Matthew entire, with the genealogie, at the beginning. The testimonie of Irenaeus, as seems to me, without searching for any other authority, is sufficient to put it out of question. "The (i) gospel according to Matthew, he says, was writ to the "Jews. For they earnestly desired a Messiah of the seed of David. "And Matthew having the same desire to a yet greater degree, "strove by all means to give them full satisfaction, that Christ was "of the seed of David. Wherefore he began with his genealogie." (A)

Eusebius,

(b) Αυτοὶ δὲ δῖθεν σεμνύνονται, ἐαυτῶν
φείσονται πτωχεῖς διὰ τὸ φασιν ἐν χρόνοις τῶν
ἀποστόλων πωλεῖν τὰ αὐτῶν ὑπάρχοντα, καὶ τι-
θεῖναι παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ εἰς
πτωχείαν καὶ ἀποταξίαν μεταληλυθέναι καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ πάντων, φασί, πτω-
χοί. H. 30. n. xiii. p. 141. A.

(i) Iren. p. 347. *Mass. and see the Cre-
dib. P. 2. Vol. i. p. 356.*

(A) As many mistakes have been enter-

tained about the Gospel according to the He-
brews, it may not be unseasonable to ob-
serve here, that probably it was an He-
brew translation of St. Matthew's origi-
nal Greek Gospel, with additions from
the other Gospels. To which, possibly,
might be added, some few particulars re-
ceived by tradition from the early Jewish
Believers. See *Credibility. P. 2. ch. v.
Vol. i. p. 185. and Vol. 2. ch. xxix. p. 804.*

Eusebius, in a place above cited, says, *that even those Ebionites, (or Nazareans,) who believed Jesus to be born of a virgin by the Holy Ghost, did not acknowledge his pre-existence, as God the Word.* Nevertheless, I presume, they did believe Jesus Christ to be *the Word, and Wisdom, and Power of God.* But they did not believe the pre-existence of the Word, as a distinct person, and separate from God the Father: as Eusebius, and some Arianizing Christians of his time did. That I take to be the truth, and the ground and reason, why Eusebius expresseth himself, as he does. And it might be easily shewn, that (k) the Nazarean Christians did not reject St. John's Gospel, nor hold any principles, that obliged them to reject or dislike it.

Finally, we are assured by St. Jerome, "that (l) in his time, there were many all over the East, called *Nazareans*, upon whom the Jews pronounced their curses, as heretics. They profess, says Jerome, that they believe in Christ, the Son of God, born of the virgin Marie, who suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rose again from the dead, the same, in whom we also believe."

I shall proceed no farther, in this argument, nor go any lower. There were, for the first four centuries, many Jews, who professed faith in Jesus as the Christ, notwithstanding the difficulties and discouragements, to which they were exposed. For they were in
an

805. Epiphanius therefore says, *that the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, used by the Nazareans, was a full Gospel.* Εχρησισ δὲ τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγέλιον πληρὲς αὐτὸν ἐβραϊστί. *H. 29. num. ix. p. 124.* The Nazareans therefore did not reject the authority of the other Evangelists, but owned, and acknowledged it. That St. Matthew wrote in Greek, see the *Supplement, Vol. i. p. 118. 119. 120.* Says Lampe. *Synops. H. E. p. 73.* Graeca vero lingua omnes, ne Matthaeo quidem excepto, usi sunt, ut a Judaeis et Gentibus uterentur.

(k) *Vid. Lampe Prolegom. in Joh. Evang. l. 2. cap. i. §. 1. 2. 3. et cap. iii. num. 38. . . . 43.*

(l) Usque hodie per totas Orientis synagogas, inter Judaeos haeresis est, quae dicitur minaeonem, et a Phariseis nunc usque damnatur: quos vulgo Nazaracos nuncupant, qui credunt in Christum Filium Dei, natum ex virgine Maria, et eum dicunt esse, qui sub Pontio Pilato passus est, et resurrexit, in quem et nos credimus. &c. *Hieron. ad August. ep. 74. al. 89. Tom. 4. p. 623.*

an especial manner the object of the spight and enmity of the unbelieving part of their nation : and besides, they (*m*) were too much slighted and disregarded by the Gentil Christians.

III. I now leave it to my readers to judge, whether the faith of so many Jewish believers, in the early days of the gospel, be not a valuable testimonie to the truth of the Christian Religion.

*Their
Faith a
valuable
Testimonie.*

Some Jews have all along, in every age since, embraced the Christian Religion, who have joyned themselves to the Gentil believers, and have been incorporated with them. These are not now the subjects of my historie.

(*m*) See *W. Wall* in the Preface to his *Notes upon the O. T.* p. xi. xii.



C H A P. II.

Of the Treatment given to the primitive Christians by the unbelieving Jews.

JUSTIN, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, (*a*) speaks to this purpose. “For ye have killed the Just, and his Prophets before Him. And now you despise, and as much as in you lyes, disparage them who hope in Him, and in God Almighty, Lord of the whole world, who sent Him, cursing in your synagogues those who believe in Christ. For it is not now in your power to lay hands upon us, being hindred by them, who have the chief government of things. But whenever you have had it in your power, you have done that also. . . . For no other people are so averse to us, and Christ, as you: who are the authors of all the prejudices, which others have against Him, and us. For after that you had crucified Him, that one unblamable and righteous man, *by whose stripes they are healed*, who come to the Father through Him: and, when ye knew, that he was risen from the dead, and was ascended into heaven, as the Prophets had foretold, you not only did not repent of the evil that you had done, but you sent out chosen men from Jerusalem into all the earth, saying, that an atheistical sect, called Christians, had arisen among you: thus spreading abroad all those evil reports concerning us, which all who are ignorant of us, now believe. So that you have been the causes not only of your own wickednesse, but likewise of the wickednesse of others.”

1 Pet ii.
24.

Eusebius (*b*) rehearsing the works of Justin, has transcribed this passage from his Dialogue with Trypho.

And

(*a*) *Justin. M. Dialog. p. 234. 235. Paris. §. 16. et 17. p. 117. Bened.*

(*b*) *H. E. l. 4. cap. 18.*

And afterwards, in the same Dialogue, or the second part of it:
 “ Notwithstanding (c) all that Christ said to you, you did not repent.
 “ So far from it, that after he was risen from the dead, you sent forth
 “ chosen men into all the world, giving out, that a wicked and athe-
 “ istical sect was arisen, the author of which was one Jesus of Gali-
 “ lee, an impostor: whom, when you had crucified, his disciples
 “ stole out of the sepulchre by night, where he had been laid after
 “ his crucifixion: and that they deceived men, saying, that he was
 “ risen from the dead, and ascended into heaven. Moreover you
 “ gave out, that he taught those wicked and impure and abominable
 “ things, which you every where charge upon all those who confess
 “ Him to be the Christ, and their master, and the Son of God. And
 “ though your city has been taken, and your countrey laid waste, you
 “ do not repent: but still pronounce curses upon Him, and upon all
 “ who believe in Him.”

He has somewhat to the like purpose, once more afterwards, in the same (d) Dialogue: where he chargeth them with hating all who believed in God through Christ, and killing them, when they had power, and still continually devoting Him and them to destruction.

Tertullian does not expressly say all this. But (e) he often intimates,

(c) *Dial.* p. 335. *Par.* §. 108. p. 202. *Bened.*

(d) *Dial.* p. 363. *Parif.* §. 133. p. 225. *Bened.*

(e) Novo jam de Deo nostro fama sug-
 gissit. Adeo nuper quidam perditissimus
 in ista civitate, etiam suae religionis de-
 sertor, solo detrimento cutis, Judaeus . . .
 picturam in nos proposuit sub ista pro-
 scriptione, Onochoëtes. Is erat auribus
 canteriorum, et in togâ, cum libro, altero
 pede unguato. Et credidit vulgus Ju-
 daeo. Quod enim aliud genus seminari-

um est infamiae nostrae? Itaque in tota
 civitate Onochoëtes praedicatur. *Adv.*
Nat. l. i. cap. 14. p. 59. *Vid. et Ap.* cap.
 16. p. 17. *D. et conf. Minuc. Fel.* cap.
 ix. et xxviii.

Dehinc, cum ex perseverantiâ furoris,
 et nomen Domini per ipsos blasphemare-
 tur, sicut scriptum est: *Propter vos blas-*
phematur nomen meum in nationibus: (ab
 illis enim coepit infamia :) et tempus me-
 dium a Tiberio usque ad Vespasianum,
 non poenitentiam intellexissent, facta est
 terra eorum deserta, civitates eorum ex-
 ustae

mates, that the Jews were the principal authors of the reproaches cast upon the Christians. And he speaks of one calumnie in particular, which had been then lately forged by them, in his own time.

Origen says much the same that Justin does. Having taken notice of some things in Celsus, he says, “that (*e*) therein he acted much like the Jews of old, who at the rise of the Christian religion, spread abroad calumnies against it: as if the Christians killed a child, and ate it, and putting out the lights practised promiscuous lewdness. Which calumnies, though very absurd, were in former times believed by many.”

And Eusebius, in his commentarie upon Is. xviii. 1. 2. “We (*f*) find in the writings of the ancients, says he, that the Priests and Elders of the Jewish nation, who dwelt at Jerusalem, wrote letters which they sent to the Jews abroad in all countreys, traducing the doctrine of Christ, as a new and strange heresie, and exhorting them not to embrace it.”

Whether the Jews did send out men in this manner, before the destruction of Jerusalem, to asperse the followers of Jesus, is not quite certain. The question is particularly considered by the Benedictins (*g*) in their Preface to Justin Martyr. The origin of the early calumnies upon the Christians is somewhat doubtfull. Some have supposed them to have been occasioned by the absurd doctrines, and vicious lives of those called heretics. However, I formerly

ustae igni, regionem eorum sub eorum conspectu extranei devorant. *Adv. Marcion. l. iii. cap. 23. p. 498. B.*

(*e*) Καὶ δοκεῖ μοι παραπλήσιον Ἰουδαίοις πεποιμέναι, τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τοῦ Χριστιανισμοῦ διδασκαλίας κατασκευάσαι δυσφημίαν τῷ λόγῳ· ὥς ἄρα καταθέσαντες παιδίον, μεταλαμβάνουσι αὐτὸ τῶν σαρκῶν· καὶ πάλιν, ὅτι οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου τὰ τοῦ σκότους πράττειν βυλόμενοι, σβεννύουσι μὲν τὸ φῶς, ἕκαστος δὲ τῇ παρατυχίᾳ μίγνυται. *Contr. Cels. l. 6. num. 27. p. 293.*

(*f*) Εὗρομεν ἐν τοῖς παλαιῶν συγγράμμασιν, ὡς οἱ τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἰκῶντες τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθους ἱερεῖς καὶ πρεσβύτεροι γράμματα διαχαρσάζαντες εἰς πάντα διεπέμψαντο τὰ ἔθνη τοῖς ὁπανταχῶς Ἰουδαίοις διαβάλλοντες τὴν Χριστοῦ διδασκαλίαν, ὡς ἄρισιν καινὴν καὶ ἁλλοτρίαν τῷ Θεῷ, παραγγέλλοντες δι' ἐπιστολῶν μὴ παραδίξασθαι αὐτήν. *Euseb. in Es. cap. xviii. p. 424.*

(*g*) *Pr. Part 3. cap. iv. p. 76. Es.*

merly (*b*) proposed some observations, tending to shew, that they are not to be accounted for in that way.

It is certain, that the Christians were very early aspersed with crimes, of which they were not guilty. When St. Paul was come a prisoner to Rome, he sent for the chief of the Jews of that city to come to him, who say to him: *As for this sect, we know, that every where it is spoken against.* Acts xxviii. 22. Those words might be spoken in the year of Christ 61. and not far from the beginning of it. And Tacitus giving an account of Nero's persecution of the Christians, which seems to have begun in the year 64. intimates, "that (*i*) the Christians were generally hated for the crimes imputed to them."

Whether the Jewish Rulers did before the destruction of Jerusalem send abroad messengers and letters on purpose to defame the doctrine of Christ and his followers, or not: it must be allowed to be true, which Justin says, *that no other people were so averse to Christ and his followers, as the Jews.* It must also be allowed to be very true, which he likewise says of them, *that they continued to anathematize Jesus Christ, and his followers.*

In the authentic account of the martyrdom of Polycarp at Smyrna, when he was condemned to be burnt, it is said, "that (*k*) presently the people brought together dried wood, and branches of trees from their shops, and from the baths: in which the Jews especially, as is usual with them, readily assisted."

We are assured by Jerome that the Jews anathematized the Christians under the name of Nazareans in their synagogues, thrice every day. So he writes in (*l*) his commentarie upon *Iſ.* v. 18. 19.

E 2

And

(*b*) *Credib. P. 2. ch. xxix. p. 712.*
713.

(*i*) Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quaesitissimis poenis affecit, quos per flagitia invidos, vulgus Christia-

nos appellabat. *Tac. Ann. l. 15. cap. 44.*

(*k*) . . . μάλιστα Ιουδαίων προθύμως, ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς, εἰς τὸ τοῦ ὑπεργένταν. *Ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 4. cap. 15. p. 133. A.*

(*l*) Dicuntur autem haec ad principes
Ju-

And again (*m*) in like manner upon *Is. xlix. 7.* and (*n*) upon the first chapter of the prophetic of Amos.

Epiphanius says, “ that (*o*) the Jews three times every day anathematized the Nazareans in their synagogues. For they were “ more especially displeased with them, because though they were “ Jews, they believed in Jesus as the Christ.”

All which may be very true. The Jews, as Jerome says, anathematized in their synagogues all Christians under the denomination of Nazareans : and yet, as Epiphanius says, they were more especially displeased with those believers, who were of the seed of Israel.

These passages of ancient Christian writers do sufficiently attest the early, and continued enmity of the unbelieving Jews, to all Christians of every denomination.

There are still some other things to be here taken notice of. For some time after our Saviour's ascension, they aspersed the character of Marie, our Lord's mother, and reproached Him with a spurious nativity. When these aspersions were first given out, we cannot say exactly. But they are in (*p*) Celsus, who wrote against the Christians about the middle of the second century. And doubtless he had them

Judaeorum, qui supra arguti sunt in avaritia et luxuria : quod provocati a Domino ad poenitentiam, et postea ab Apostolis ejus usque hodie perseverant in blasphemis : et ter per singulos dies in omnibus synagogis sub nomine Nazarenorum anathematizant vocabulum Christianum. *In Is. cap. v. T. 3. p. 53.*

(*m*) Ipse enim bonus pastor posuit animam suam pro ovibus suis, et contempsit eam : qui abominationi est genti Judaeorum, cui ter per singulos dies sub nomine Nazarenorum maledicunt in synagogis suis. *Id. in Is. cap. xlix. T. 3. p. 353.*

(*n*) ——— antiquumque furorem et iracundiam tenentes, usque hodie in syna-

gogis suis sub nomine Nazarenorum blasphemant populum Christianum, et dummodo nos interficiant, volunt igne comburi. *In Amos. cap. i. p. 1378. fin.*

(*o*) Οὐ μόνον γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἰουδαίων παῖδες πρὸς τέτοις κέκτινται μίσος, ἀλλὰ ἀνισήμενοι ἔωθεν, καὶ μέσης ἡμέρας, καὶ περὶ ἑσπέραν, τρεῖς τῆς ἡμέρας ὅτε εὐχὰς ἐπιτελοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν συναγωγαῖς, ἐπαρῶνται αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀναθεματίζουσι, φάσκοντες, ὅτι ἐπικαταράσαι ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς Ναζωραίους. Καὶ γὰρ τέτοις περισσύτερον ἐνέχουσι, διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίων αὐτοὺς οὐτας, Ἰησοῦν κηρύσσειν εἶναι χριστόν. κ. λ. *Epiph. H. 29. §. ix. p. 124.*

(*p*) *Vid. Orig. Contr. Cels. l. i. num. 28. et 32. p. 22. et 26.*

them from the Jews. They are also in the Talmudical writings, as we shall see hereafter.

In order to disparage our Lord's miracles, they gave out, that they were performed by magical arts, such as he had learned in Egypt. This Calumnies also is in (q) Celsus. And doubtless he had it from the Jews. It is also in the Talmudical writers, as we shall see hereafter.

In the time of the Emperour Adrian, about the year of Christ 132. the Jews rebelled under the conduct of the impostor *Barchochebas*, who set up himself for the Messiah, "who (r) inflicted heavie penalties upon the Christians, to induce them to deny and blaspheme Jesus Christ. And if they did not, he ordered them to be put to death." So writes Justin Martyr, who lived at that time. Some have censured Justin for saying that Barchochebas tortured Christians only. But without reason, as seems to me. For certain, the Christians were above all men objects of his, and his followers enmity. Nor could any be called upon to deny Jesus Christ, but such as had received him for the Messiah. Of the sufferings of the Christians at that time Eusebius speaks in (s) his Chronicle, and in (t) his Ecclesiastical Historie: not now to refer to any (u) others.

(q) *Vid. Orig. Contr. Cels. l. i. §. 28. p. 22.*

(r) Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν γεγενημένῳ Ἰουδαϊκῷ πολέμῳ, βαρκοχέβας ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγέτης, χριστιανὲς μόνους εἰς τιμωρίας θανάτου, εἰ μὴ ἀρνοῖντο Ἰησοῦ τὸν χριστόν, καὶ βλασφημοῖεν, ἐκελεύσατο ἀπάγεσθαι. *Ap. i. p. 72. E. Par. p. 62. Bened.*

(s) Cochebas dux Judaicae factionis nolentes Christianos adversum Romanum militem ferre subsidium omnimodis cruciatibus necat. *Chron. p. 167.*

(t) *H. E. l. 4. cap. 6.*

(u) *Vid. Mosheim. de Reb. Christianor. ante Const. p. 238. 239.*

C H A P. III.

JOSEPHUS, with his Testimonie at large to the Fulfilment of our Saviour's Predictions concerning the Destruction of the Temple, and the City of Jerusalem, and the Miseries coming upon the Jewish People.

- I. *His Time, Works, and Character.* II. *The State of Things in Judea, in the Time of our Saviour, and some while before.* III. *Our Lord's Predictions concerning the Destruction of the Temple, and the City of Jerusalem, and the Miseries to be endured by the Jewish People: with the several Signs, preceding those Calamities, as recorded in the Gospels.* IV. *The Dates of several Events: vid. the Commencement, and the Duration of the War, and the Siege of Jerusalem: when the Temple was burnt, and the City taken.* V. *Of the Abomination of Desolation standing in the holy Place.* VI. *The actual Accomplishment of our Saviour's Predictions concerning divers Events, that should precede the great Calamities coming upon the Jewish People: the Gospel preached all over the World: the Disciples of Christ persecuted in many places: Declensions among his Followers: Famines, Pestilences, and Earthquakes, in divers Places: Wars and Commotions.* VII.

VII. *The Occasion of the Jewish War with the Romans, as represented by Josephus.* VIII. *The Historie of the Jewish War from Josephus, with his Account of the Siege of Jerusalem, and the Miseries endured therein, and the Demolition of the Temple, and City of Jerusalem, and the Desolation of the Land of Judea, being his Testimonie to the Fulfilment of our Lord's Predictions of those Events.* IX. *Reflexions upon the preceding Historie, and the Value of the Testimonie of Josephus.* X. *Other ancient Writers, who have born Witnesse to the Accomplishment of our Lord's Predictions in the Conquest of Judea by Vespasian and Titus: Justus of Tiberias: Pausanias: Antonius Julianus: Suetonius: Tacitus: Dion Cassius: Philostratus: The Arch of Titus.*

I. **J O S E P H U S**, son of *Matthias*, of the race of the Jewish Priests, and of the first course of the four and twenty, by his mother descended from the Asmonean familie, which for a considerable time had the supreme government of the Jewish nation, was born in the first year of the reign of *Caligula*, of our Lord (a) 37.

His Time, Works, and Character.

He was educated together (b) with *Matthias*, who was his own brother by father and mother, and made such proficiencie in knowledge, that when (c) he was about fourteen years of age, the High-Priests, and some of the principal men of the city came frequently to him to consult him about the right interpretation of things in the law. In the sixteenth year of his age, he retired into the wilderness,

(a) *Joseph. in Vita sua. cap. i.*

(b) *Cap. 2.*

(c) Ἐτι δὲ παῖς ὢν, περὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδε-

κατον ἔτος . . . συνόντων αἰὶ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πρῶτων ὑπὲρ τῆ παρ' ἐμὲ περὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀκριβέστερόν τι γινῶναι. *Cap. 2.*

neſſe, where he lived three years an abſtemious courſe of life in the companie of *Banus*. Having fully acquainted himſelf with the principles of the three ſects, the Pharifees, the Sadducees, and the Eſſens, he determined to follow the rule of the Pharifees. And being now nineteen years of age, he began to act in public life.

Felix, when Procurator of Judea, ſent ſome Priests of his acquaintance for a trifling offence to Rome, to be tried before Ceſar. Joſephus, hearing that they behaved well, reſolved to go to Rome, to plead their cauſe. But he had a bad voyage. The ſhip was wrecked. And out of 600 perſons, not more than eighty were ſaved. Soon after his arrival at Rome, he became acquainted with Aliturius, a Jew by birth, but a ſtage-player, in favour with Nero. By him he was introduced to Poppæa, the Emperour's wife: by whoſe intereſt he procured, that the prieſts ſhould be ſet at liberty. Joſephus, who never omits what may be to his own honour, adds, that (*d*) beſide that favour, he alſo received from Poppæa many valuable preſents. And then he returned home. This voyage was made, as (*e*) he ſays, in the 26. year of his age, which muſt have been in the 62. or 63. year of (*f*) Chriſt.

Upon his return to Judea he found things in great confuſion, many (*g*) being elevated with hopes of advantage by a revolt from the Romans. He ſays, he did what lay in his power to prevent it, though in vain.

Soon after the begining of the war, in the year of Chriſt 66. (when he muſt have been himſelf about thirty years of age,) he was ſent

(*d*) . . . μεγάλην δὲ δωρεάν πρὸς τῇ ἐνερ-
γείᾳ τούτῃ τυχῶν παρὰ Πιππίας. *Cap.* 3.

(*e*) Μετ' εἰκοσὸν καὶ ἕκτον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς Ρώ-
μην μοι συνέπεσεν ἀναβῆναι. *Ib.*

(*f*) Felix muſt have been removed from his government ſome while before that. Which may be thought to create a diffi-
culty in this account. But it may be ob-

ſerved, that Joſephus had heard of the good behaviour of thoſe Priests at Rome, before he left Judea. Conſequently, they had been ſome while at Rome, before he ſet out on his journey.

(*g*) . . καὶ πολλὰς ἐπὶ τῇ Παλαιᾷ ἀποστά-
σει μέγα φρονήτας. *Vit.* c. 4.

sent from Jerusalem, to command in (*b*) Galilee. Where, having ordered matters as well as he could, and made the best preparations for war by fortifying the cities, in case of an attack from the Romans, he was at length shut up in the city of *Jotapata*: which, after a vigorous defense, and a siege of seven and forty days, was taken by Vespasian, (*i*) on the first day of July, in the 13. year of Nero, and the 67. of our Lord.

When that city was taken, by Vespasian's order, strict search was made for *Josephus*. For, if (*k*) that General was once taken, he reckoned, that the greatest part of the war would be over. However, he had hid himself in a deep cavern, the opening of which was not easily discerned above ground. Here he met with forty persons of eminence, who had concealed themselves, and had with them provisions enough for several days. On the third day the Roman soldiers seized a woman, that had been with them. She made a discoverie of the place, where they were. Whereupon Vespasian sent two tribunes, inviting him to come up, with assurances, that his life should be preserved. *Josephus* however refused. Vespasian therefore sent a third tribune, named *Nicanor*, well known to *Josephus*, with the like assurances. *Josephus*, after some hesitation, was then willing to surrender himself. But the men, who were with him, exclaimed against it, and were for killing him and themselves, rather than come alive into the hands of the Romans. Hereupon he made a long speech to them, shewing, that it was not lawful for men to kill themselves, and that it was rather a proof of pusillanimity, than courage. But all without effect. He then proposed an expedient, which was, that they should cast lots, two by two, who should die first. He who had the second lot, should kill the first, and the next him, and so on, and the last should kill himself. It happened, that *Josephus* and another were preserved to the last lot.

(*b*) *Vit. cap. 7. 8. De B. J. l. 2. c. 20.*

(*k*) *μεγίστη γὰρ ἦν μοῖρα τῷ πολέμῳ λη-*

(*i*) *De B. J. l. 3. cap. 7. Conf. cap. 8. θείας. De B. J. l. 3. c. 8. in.*

When all the rest were killed, he without much difficulty persuaded that other person to yield up himself to the Romans. So they they two escaped with their *(l)* lives.

This *(m)* has been judged to be a remarkable providence, by which Josephus was preserved to write the historie, of which we are now able to make so good use.

When *(n)* Josephus had surrendered, Vespasian gave strict orders, that he should be kept carefully, as if he had intended to send him to Nero. Josephus then presented a request, that he might speak to Vespasian in private. Which was granted. When all were dismissed, except Titus, and two friends; he spoke to Vespasian after this manner. “ You *(o)* think, Vespasian, that you have in Josephus a mere prisoner. But I am come to you as a messenger of
“ great tidings. Had I not been sent to you by God, I *(p)* know
“ what the law of the Jews is, and how it becomes a General to
“ dye. Do you intend to send me to Nero? Are they, who are to
“ succeed Nero before you, to continue? You, Vespasian, will be
“ Cesar: You will be Emperour. So will likewise this your Son.
“ Bind me therefore still faster, and reserve me for yourself. For
“ you are Lord not of me only, but of the earth, and the sea, and
“ all mankind. And I for punishment deserve a closer confinement,
“ if I speak falsehood to you in the name of *(q)* God.” Vespasian, as he says, at first paid little regard to all this. But afterwards his expectations of empire were raised. “ Besides, as he goes on to say,
“ he

(l) *De B. J. l. 3. c. 8. §. 1. . . 7.*

(m) See Tillotson's *Serm. numb. 186. vol. 2. p. 564.*

(n) *De B. l. 3. c. 8. §. 8.*

(o) *Ibid. §. 9.*

(p) That is, that a Jewish General should make away with himself, rather than be taken prisoner alive by heathen people. We know not of any such law in the books of the Old Testament. And

it seems to be a manifest contradiction to what he says in the speech before referred to.

(q) Josephus's address to Vespasian is very precise and formal, predicting things then future. Possibly, this speech was improved afterwards, and at the time of writing this historie made more clear, and express, and more agreeable to the event, than when first spoken.

“ he found Josephus to have spoken truth upon other occasions.
 “ For when one of his friends, who were admitted to be present at
 “ that interview, said, It appeared strange to him, that Josephus
 “ should not have foretold to the people of Jotapata, the event of
 “ the siege, nor have foreseen his own captivity, if all he now said,
 “ was not invention to save his own life : Josephus answered, that he
 “ had foretold to the people of Jotapata, that the place would be
 “ taken upon the forty-seventh day of the siege, and that himself
 “ should be taken alive by the Romans. Vespasian having privately
 “ inquired of the prisoners concerning these predictions, found the
 “ truth of (r) them.”

All these things I have inserted here for shewing the character of this writer : though the prolixity of my narration be thereby encreased.

It is very likely, that he (s) often thought of *Joseph* in Egypt, and of *Daniel* at Babylon : and was in hopes of making a like figure at the court of Rome. But I suppose, it may be no disparagement to Josephus, to say, that he was not equal to them in wisdom, or in virtue and integrity. And the circumstances of things were much altered. The promised Messiah was come. And the Jewish people were no longer entitled to such special regard, as had been shewn them in times past. Nor was it then a day of favour and mercie for them, but the day of the Lord's vengeance against them, as Josephus himself saw. And they were entering into a long captivity, of which they have not yet seen the end, after a period of almost seventeen hundred years, though they are still wonderfully preserved.

F 2

Josephus

(r) Among other presages of Vespasian's Empire *Suetonius* has mentioned this of Josephus. Et unus ex nobilibus captivus Josephus, cum conjiceretur in vincula, constantissime asseveravit, fore, ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum jam Imperatore. *Sueton. Vespas. cap. 5.*

(s) Josephus has several times spoken of his having had prophetic dreams, and of his ability to interpret dreams that were ambiguous. . *Vid. De B. J. l. 3. viii. 3. et 9. et de Vit. §. 42.*

Josephus was still a prisoner. But, when Vespasian had been proclaimed Emperour, he ordered his iron chain to be cut (*t*) asunder. When Vespasian went to Rome, Josephus continued to be with Titus, and was present at the siege of Jerusalem, and saw the ruin of his city and countrey.

After the war was over, when Titus went to Rome, he went with him. And Vespasian allotted him an apartment in the same house, in which himself had lived, before he came to the empire. He also made him a Citizen of Rome, and gave him an annual pension, and continued to shew him great respect, so long as he lived. His son Titus, who succeeded him, shewed him the like regard. And afterwards Domitian, and his wife Domitia, did him many kind (*u*) offices.

Josephus, however, does not deny, that (*x*) he had many enemies. But the Emperours, in whose times he lived, protected him. Indeed, it is very likely, that the Jews should have little regard for a man, who was with the Romans in their camp, during the siege of their city. He particularly says, that (*y*) upon the first tidings of the taking of Jotapata, the people at Jerusalem made great and public lamentations for him, supposing, that he had been killed in the siege. But when they heard, that he had escaped, and was with the Romans, and was well used by them, they loaded him with all manner of reproaches, not excepting treacherie itself. Nor do we find, that (*z*) the Jewish people ever had any great respect for his writings: though they have been much esteemed, and often quoted by Christian, and (*a*) other writers in early and later times.

Of

(*t*) *De B. J. l. 4. cap. x. §. 7.*

(*u*) *Vit. cap. 76.*

(*x*) *Ibid.*

(*y*) *De B. J. l. 3. cap. ix. §. 7.*

(*z*) *Quamvis enim ejus scripta apud Judaeos in nullo pretio fuerint. . . Gentiles tamen pariter et Christiani Josephum, li-*

cet Judacum, ejusque opera, magni aestimarunt. Itig. Proleg. pag. 88. ap. Havercamp.

(*a*) Josephus is quoted by *Porphyrie*, not in his books against the Christians, but elsewhere. See the Testimonies prefixed to the works of Josephus.

Of them (*b*) we are now to take some Notice.

The *first* is the *Historie of the Jewish War*, and the taking of Jerusalem, in seven books. In which work he goes back to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the Maccabees. In the preface he says, that he (*c*) first wrote it in the language of his own countrey, for the sake of such as lived in Parthia, Babylonia, Arabia, and other parts, and afterwards published it in Greek for the benefit of others: which is what we have. It is generally supposed to have been published by him in the 75. year of Christ, and the 38. year of his own age. He professeth to have writ with great (*d*) fidelity. And for the truth of his historie appeals to Vespasian, and Titus, and King Agrippa, then (*e*) living. He (*f*) presented it to Vespasian and Titus. Which last (*g*) not only desired the publication of it, but with his own hand signed the book, that should be reckoned authentic.

2. *The Jewish Antiquities*, in twenty books, or the *Historie of the Jews* from the creation of the world to the twelfth year of Nero, in which the war began. This work was finished by him (*b*) in the 56. year of his own life, in the third year of the reign of Domitian, and the year of Christ 93.

3. To this work is subjoyned, as a part of it, or an appendix to it, *His Life*, writ by himself some while afterwards.

4. After the several above-mentioned works, he published another work, in two books, entitled *Of the Antiquity of the Jews, against Apion*: being a vindication of the Jewish People against the calumnies of that Egyptian author.

5. To

(*b*) Particular accounts of them are to be seen in Cav. Hist. Lit. Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. 6. Tom. 3. p. 228. &c. Tillemont La Ruine des Juifs. art. 79. &c. Hist. des Emp. Tom. i.

(*c*) De B. J. l. i. in Pro. §. 2.

(*d*) In Pr. §. 5. &c. et l. 7. cap. ult. fin.

(*e*) In Vit. cap. 65. Adv. Ap. l. i. c. 9.

(*f*) Αλλ' αυτοῖς ἀπέδωκα τοῖς αυτοκράτορσι τὰ βιβλία. Vit. §. 65. Conf. Adv. Ap. ut supr.

(*g*) ὥς χαράξας τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ τὰ βιβλία δημοσίευσθαι προσέταξεν. Vit. §. 65.

(*b*) Ant. l. 20. cap. ult. fin.

5. To Josephus likewise is generally ascribed a book, entitled *A Discourse of the Maccabees*. But, as (i) *Cave* says, there is good reason to doubt of it's genuineness. And (k) Mr. *Whiston*, who made an English Translation of all the above named works of this writer, declined to translate this, and would not publish it among the rest.

The works of Josephus, notwithstanding many things in them liable to exception, which may be observed by careful and impartial readers, are very valuable. In his larger work, the *Jewish Antiquities*, he confirms the truth of the historie of the Old Testament. And, as in several of the last books of that work he has brought down the Jewish historie from the ceasing of prophecie among them to the twelfth of Nero, he has let us know the state of affairs in Judea, during the time of the evangelical historie. And he had before done the like in the first two books of the *Jewish War*. What he has therein said of Herod, and his Sons, of the Roman Governours in Judea, the Jewish sects, and their principles, the manners of the Jewish people, and likewise concerning the Samaritans, greatly confirms, and illustrates the historie of our Evangelists. As was formerly shewn in the first part of this work, the *Credibility of the Gospel-Historie*: the design of which was to confirm the facts occasionally mentioned in the New Testament by passages of ancient (l) authors.

We are now to consider, whether there is any thing in the works this Jewish author more directly confirming the principal facts of the of New Testament: particularly, whether he affords any evidences of the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions concerning the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the great calamities coming upon the Jewish people: and whether he has said any thing of *John the*

(i) Nihilominus an genuinum sit Josephi opus, justa est dubitandi ratio. *Cav. H. L. de Josepho. p. 35.*

(k) See his note at the end of his translation of Josephus.

(l) Quam in multis capitibus Evange-

listarum narrationi suffragetur Josephus, erudite nuper demonstravit Nathanael Lardnerus in opere Anglice edito, de Fide Historiae Evangelicae. Lond. 1727. 8vo. 2. volum. J. A. Fabric. *Lux Evangelii. p. 16. not. (a).*

the Baptist, our Lord's fore-runner, or of our Lord himself, or of any of his Apostles. A. D. 76.

I shall begin with the first article. For it is very likely, that in his *historie of the Jewish war*, we should find many things giving credit to the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions concerning the Jewish people.

II. Judea was first brought into subjection to the Romans by *Pompey*. Who after a siege of three months took Jerusalem in the year 63. before the Christian aera, about the time of our (m) mid-summer. Josephus always dates (n) the loss of their liberty at that time. The same is said by (o) Tacitus. *The State of Judea, in our Saviour's Time, and before.*

But though the Jewish People then became subject to the Romans: and it may be said, that from that time forward the rod of heaven hung over them; they enjoyed many privileges, and the freedom of their worship, under the mild government of those masters: as appears both from Josephus, and from the historical books of the New Testament.

When Pompey became master of Jerusalem, he (p) and some of his officers entred into the temple, and the most holy places of it. But he took nothing away. There were then in it the table, the candlestick, with it's lamps, the pouring vessels, and the censers, all of gold, and great quantities of spices, and two thousand talents in money. All which he left untouched. And the day after he gave orders, that they who had the charge of the temple should cleanse

(m) See Prideaux, in the year before Christ. 63. p. 439. And Joseph. Antiq. l. 14. cap. iv. 4. De B. J. l. i. cap. vii. §. 6.

(n) Τέτα τῇ πάθης τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις αἰτίαι κατέστησαν Ὑρκανὸς καὶ Ἀριστοβόλος πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐσιόζοντες. Τὴν τε γὰρ ἐλευθερίαν ἀπεβάλομεν, καὶ ὑπὸ ῥωμαίων κατέστημεν. An-

tig. l. 14. iv. 5. And compare what Agrippa says to the Jews at Jerusalem. De B. J. l. 2. cap. xvi. 4. p. 187.

(o) Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Judaeos domuit, templumque jure victoriae ingressus est. Tacit. H. E. 5. c. 9.

(p) De B. J. l. i. cap. vii. 6. Conf. Antiq. l. 14. cap. iv.

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cleanse it, and perform the accustomed sacrifices. And he restored the priesthood to Hyrcanus.

And that after this the Jewish People were, sometimes at least, in a flourishing condition, appears from many considerations. It was during this period, that (q) Herod repaired the temple. Excepting the cloud of glorie, with which the first temple had been favoured : that erected by Herod may be reckoned to have been equal to it in the splendour and magnificence of the building, and in rich and costly presents, and other ornaments.

When the Jewish People, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, laid the foundation of the new house, *many of the Priests, and Levites, and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, wept with a loud voice.* Ezr. .iii. 12. But God encouraged them by the Prophet Haggai, in this manner. ch. ii. 3. *Who is left among you, that saw this house in it's first glorie? And how do ye see it now? Is it not in your eyes, in comparison of it, as nothing? Yet now be strong, o Zerubbabel, saith the Lord. . . and be strong all ye people of the land, and work : for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts. . . For thus saith the Lord of hosts, . . I will shake all nations. And the desire of all nations shall come. And I will fill this house with glorie, saith the Lord of hosts. The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts. The glorie of this later house shall be greater than that of the former, saith the Lord of hosts. And in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts.*

Here is, undoubtedly, a renewal of the great promise concerning the coming of the Messiah, the true *Shechinah*, whose presence would make this second temple more glorious than the first. But here is also a gracious assurance of external grandeur and splendour. “Silver and gold, and all the riches of the world, says God, are mine, to bestow on whom I please. And notwithstanding the present mean and despicable appearance of the building before your eyes ;
“ I will

(q) *Vid. Antiq. l. 15. cap. xi. De B. J. l. 1. cap. xxi. et l. 5. cap. v.*

Ch. III. *The State of the Jews in our Saviour's Time.*

41

“ I will fill it with glorie, and will cause it to equal, or even surpass the former in splendour and magnificence. . . *For in this place will I give peace.* My purpose is to bless you abundantly, and to give you great prosperity.” Which gracious declaration was fulfilled.

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That they were in flourishing circumstances at the time of our Lord's preaching among them, is apparent : though they were uneasy under subjection to the Romans. Josephus continually speaks of the temple, as very grand and magnificent. And it appears to be so from his large and particular description of it in the fifth chapter of the fifth book of his Jewish War, just before it's final ruin. And when Titus, upon the fire having seized the temple, entered it, with some of his officers, he says, “ that (r) Titus saw it to be far superior to the report of strangers, and not inferior to our boastings concerning it.” And having related, how it was burnt, he says, it might be justly lamented : “ since (s) it was the most admirable of all the works, which we have seen, or heard of, for it's curious structure, and magnitude, and for all the wealth bestowed upon it, as well as for the reputation of it's sanctity.” And he expressly calls it (t) the temple, that was built, or begun to be built, in the second year of Cyrus, under the direction of the prophet Haggai. And our Lord's disciples bear witness to the same in some passages, that will come before us in reciting his predictions, of which we are now to take notice, and then observe the fulfillment of them.

III. We find our Lord's disciples speaking of the magnificence of the temple with admiration. So in Mark xiii. . . 10. *And as he* *Our Lord's prediction.*

(r) . . . παρελθὼς μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἔνθεν ἐθεάσατο τὸ ναὸν τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ πολὺ μὲν τῆς παρὰ ταῖς ἀλλοτρίαις φήμης ἀμείνω, τὸ δὲ κόμπος καὶ τῆς παρὰ οἰκείους δόξης ἐκείλαττο. *De B. f. l. 6. cap. iv. 7.*

(s) *L. 6. iv. 8. Conf. l. 6. x. fin.*

(t) ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ὕστερον, ἣν ἔτει δευτέρῳ Κυβερβασιλεύοντος ἐποιήσατο Ἀγγαῖος. *L. 6. c. iv. 8.*

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went out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him: Master, see what manner of stones, and what buildings are here! And Jesus answering said unto him: seest thou these great buildings? There shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down. And as he sat upon the Mount of Olives over against the temple, Peter, and James, and John, and Andrew, asked him privately: Tell us, when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign, when all these things shall be fulfilled? And Jesus answering them began to say: Take heed, least any man deceive you. For many will come in my name, and say: I am Christ. And will deceive many. And when ye shall hear of wars, and rumours of wars, be ye not troubled. For such things must needs be. But the end shall not be yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. And there shall be earthquakes in divers places. And there shall be famines and troubles. These are the beginnings of sorrows.... And the gospel must first be published among all nations. And ver. 14... 20. But when ye shall see the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the Prophet, standing where it ought not, (let him that readeth understand:) then let them that be in Judea flee to the mountains. And let him that is on the house-top, not go down into the house, neither enter therein, to take any thing out of his house. And let him that is in the field, not turn back again for to take up his garment. But woe to them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days. And pray ye, that your flight be not in the winter. For in those days shall be affliction, such as was not from the beginning of the creation, which God created, unto this time. Neither shall be.

The like things are in St. Matthew xxiv. 1. . . 35. And Jesus went out, and departed from the temple. And his disciples came to him, for to shew him the buildings of the temple. And Jesus said unto them: See ye not all these things? Verily I say unto you, there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down. And as he sat upon the Mount of Olives, the disciples came unto him privately, saying: Tell us, when these things shall be, and what will be the sign
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of thy coming, and of the end of the world? And Jesus answered, and said unto them : Take heed, that no man deceive you. For many will come in my name, saying, I am Christ. And will deceive many. And ye will hear of wars and rumours of wars. See that ye be not troubled. For all these things must come to pass. But the end is not yet. For nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. And there will be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places. All these are the beginnings of sorrows. Then shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you. And ye will be hated of all nations for my name sake. And then will many be offended, and will betray one another, and will hate one another. And many false prophets will arise, and will deceive many. And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many will wax cold. But he that shall endure to the end, shall be saved. And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations. And then shall the end come. When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand :) then let them which are in Judea, flee to the mountains. Let him which is on the house-top, not come down to take any thing out of his house. Neither let him that is in the field return back, to take his cloths. And woe unto them which are with child, and to them that give suck in those days. But pray ye, that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day. For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world to this time : no, nor ever shall be. And except those days should be shortened there should no flesh be saved. But for the elects sake those days shall be shortened. Then, if any say unto you : Lo, here is Christ, or there : believe it not. For there will arise false Christs, and false Prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders, insomuch that (if it were possible,) they should deceive the very elect. Behold, I have told you before. Wherefore, if they shall say unto you, Behold he is in the desert, go not forth : Behold, he is in the secret chambers, believe it not. For as the lightening cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the com-

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Compare
Luke xi.
47. . 51.

Those inquiries of the disciples, and our Lord's answers to them, are made in private. But they plainly refer to things said by our Lord publicly in the courts of the temple. We may do well therefore to look back to what precedes, as related in St. Matthew's Gospel, especially. Where are recorded the many woes pronounced by our Lord upon the Scribes and Pharisees, and the people in general, who were under their influence and direction. Matt. xxiii. 29. . . 39. *Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: because ye build the tombs of the Prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous. And ye say, if we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the Prophets. Wherefore ye be witnesses unto yourselves, that ye are the children of them that killed the Prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell! Wherefore behold I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes. And some of them ye will kill and crucify: and some of them ye will scourge in your synagogues, and persecute from city to city: that upon you may come all the righteous blood, shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, All these things shall come upon this generation. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the Prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee: how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings! And ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.*

The like things are recorded by St. Luke, ch. xxi. 5 . . . 28. A part of which I shall also transcribe here. *And as some spake of the temple,*
how

how it was adorned with goodly stones, and gifts, he said: *As for these things, which ye behold, the days will come, in the which shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down. And they asked him, saying, Master, but when shall these things be? and what signs will there be when these things shall come to pass? And he said: Take heed, that ye be not deceived. For many will come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and the time draws near. Go ye not therefore after them. But when ye shall hear of wars and commotions, be not terrified. For these things must first come to pass. But the end is not by and by. Then said he unto them: Nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. And great earthquakes shall be in divers places, and famines, and pestilences, and fearfull sights, and great signs shall there be from heaven. But before all these things they shall lay their hands upon you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before Kings and Rulers for my name sake. And it shall turn to you for a testimonie. . . . And ye shall be betrayed both by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolke, and friends. And some of you shall they cause to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name sake. But there shall not an hair of your head perish. In your patience possess ye your souls. And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies; then know, that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains: and let them which are in the midst of it, depart out. And let not them that are in the countrey, enter therein. For these are the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled. But woe unto them that are with child, and to them that give suck in those days. For there will be great distresse in the land, and wrath upon this people. And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations. And Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentils, untill the times of the Gentils be fulfilled.*

And before this, when he was making his public entrance into Jerusalem. Says St. Luke xix. 41. . . 44. *And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying: If thou hadst known,*
even

A. D. 76. *even thou, at lest in this thy day the things, which belong to thy peace! But now they are hid from thy eyes! For the days will come upon thee, that thy enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and will lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee. And they will not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.*

And afterwards, when they were leading him away to be crucified. Luke xxiii. 25.... 31. *And there followed him a great companie of people, and of women: which also bewailed, and lamented him. But Jesus turning unto them said: Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves, and for your children. For behold the days are coming, in the which they will say: Blessed are the barren, and the wombs that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck. Then shall they begin to say to the mountains, Fall on us, and to the hills, Cover us. For if they do such things in a green tree, what shall be done in the dry!*

Our Lord delivers these predictions, of which he had the foresight, with marks of great and undissembled compassion and tenderneffe. If all these desolations and calamities had been now present, and before his eyes: and if they had been the calamities of his best friends, he could not have been more affected. He is particularly touched with the foresight of the difficulties of such as are most helpless, the distressed of women with child, or who have infants at their breasts. This is true compassion, the effect of the sensibility of the human nature: which he is not ashamed of, and does not dissemble. And that the apprehension of these calamities impending on the Jewish people, lay much upon his mind, is manifest from his so often speaking of them.

And there are references likewise to the calamities coming upon the Jewish People in divers parables. Luke xiii. 6... 9. Matt. xxii. 1. .. 7. Luke xiv. 17... 24... Matt. xxi. 33... 46. Mark xii. 1... 12. Luke xx. 9... 19. ... Luke xix. 11... 27. Compare Matt. xxv. 14... 30. and also in the miracle upon the barren fig-tree. Matt. xxi. 18. 19. Mark xi. 12. 13. and 20. 21.

In

In what has been just transcribed from the Evangelists, are observable these several things.

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1. Our Lord foretells the destruction of the temple and city of Jerusalem.
2. He speaks of great and extraordinarie afflictions and distresses, which the Jewish people would suffer at that time.
3. He says, that the doctrine of the gospel should be preached in all the world, or all over the Roman Empire, before the final ruin and overthrow of the Jewish Nation.
4. He foretells, that his disciples and followers would be brought before Kings and Governours for his name sake, and would suffer many hardships, and that some of them would be put to death.
5. He intimates, that among his followers there would be great declensions, and that they would betray each other.
6. He foretells, that there would be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places.
7. He speaks of wars and tumults in many places, preceding the final ruin of the Jewish nation, and as preludes of it.
8. He likewise says, that at that time, and before it, would appear many false-prophets, and impostors, by whom many would be deceived, and he warns men against hearkening to them.
9. He declares, that all these things would come to pass, before the end of that age, or generation of men.
10. He forewarns and advises those who regarded their own welfare, to flee out of Judea and Jerusalem, when they perceived the near approach of the calamities, which had been spoken of by him. Which they might know, when they should see the Roman armies with their idolatrous ensigns, standing where they ought not, that is, near Jerusalem, or in the land of Judea.

Of all these several things I propose to shew the fulfillment: though not exactly in the order, in which they have been just now mentioned.

IV. Be-

A. D.

76.

*The Dates
of some
Events,
vid. the
Com-
mencement
and Dura-
tion of the
War, and
of the
Siege of
Jerusa-
lem, &c.*

IV. Before I enter upon the historie of the fulfillment of these predictions, it may be of use to observe, in general, the dates of some events.

The war began, as (*u*) Josephus says, in the second year of the government of *Gessius Florus*, who succeeded *Albinus*, successor of *Porcius Fessus*, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, in the month of May, in the twelfth year of the Emperour *Nero*, and the seventeenth year of the reign of *Agrippa*, mentioned Acts xxv. and xxvii. that is, in the month of May, in the year of our Lord 66.

“ The (*x*) Temple was burnt on the tenth day of the month of August, [in the year of Christ 70.] the same day and month, on which it had been burnt by the King of Babylon.” Which (*y*) Josephus repeats again afterwards.

The (*z*) City was taken on the eighth day of September, in the second year of the reign of *Vespasian*, or the year of Christ 70.

That was the end of the siege of Jerusalem, which began, as the same author (*a*) observes several times, about the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, or our April.

The war therefore lasted four years and four months, computing from May 66. to September in the year 70. And the siege lasted about five months, computing from the 14. day of April to the eighth of

(*u*) Καὶ δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ὁ πόλεμος δευτέρῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς Φλάρου, δωδεκάτῳ δὲ τῆς Νέρωνος ἀρχῆς. *Ant. l. 20. xi. 1.*

Καὶ προσελάμβανε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος δωδεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας, ἐπτακαιδέκῳ δὲ τῆς Αἰγρίππας βασιλείας, Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός. *De B. J. l. 2. cap. xiv. 4.*

(*x*) Παρὴν δ' ἡ ἐμαρμένη χρόνων περίοδος ἡμέραι δεκάτῃ Λαέ μηνός, καθ' ἣν καὶ τὸ πρότερον ὑπὸ τῷ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλείῳ ἐνεπρήσθη. *De B. J. l. 6. iv. 5.*

(*y*) Θαυμάσαι δ' ἂν τις ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς περιόδου τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ μῆνα γέν, ὡς ἔφη, καὶ ἡμέραν ἐπετέθησε τὴν αὐτὴν, ἐν ᾗ πρίτερον ὑπὸ Βαβυλωνίων ὁ ναὸς ἐνεπρήσθη. . . . ἡ γέγονεν ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῆς 'Ουεσπασιανῆς ἡγεμονίας. *Ib. §. 8.*

(*z*) Εὐαλὸν μὲν ἔτας Ἱεροσόλυμα ἔτει δέυτέρῳ τῆς 'Ουεσπασιανῆς ἡγεμονίας, Γορπιάτῳ μηνός ὀγδόῃ. *Ib. l. 6. cap. x. in.*

(*a*) *De B. J. l. 5. cap. iii. 1. cap. xiii. 7. L. 6. cap. ix. 3.*

of September, in the year 70. If we carry on our computation to the taking of the castle of *Massada*, which happened in the year 73. (as we shall see hereafter :) the war lasted seven years.

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V. I think it proper here also to take notice of our Lord's expressions concerning the sign, whereby the approach of these calamities might be discerned. Matt. xxiv. 15. 16. *When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, . . . stand in the holy place; then let them which be in Judea flee to the mountains.* Mark xiii. 14. *When ye shall see the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not . . . then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains.* Luke xxi. 20. *And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know, that the desolation thereof is nigh.*

The Abomination of desolation standing in the holy place.

By the *abomination of desolation*, or the *abomination that maketh desolate*, therefore is intended the Roman Armies, with their ensigns. As the Roman ensigns, especially the eagle, which was carried at the head of every legion, were objects of worship; they are, according to the usual stile of scripture, called *an abomination*.

By *standing in the holy place*, or *where it ought not*, needs not to be understood the temple only, but Jerusalem also, and any part of the land of Israel.

There are several things in Josephus, which will confirm this interpretation. "*Pilate (y) says he, the prefect of Judea, sending his armie from Cesarea, and putting them into winter-quarters at Jerusalem, brought the carved images of Cesar, which are in the ensigns, into the city, in violation of the Jewish laws: since our law forbids the making of images. For which reason the former governours were wont to come into the city with ensigns destitute of these ornaments. Pilate was the first, who set up images in Jerusalem. And he did it privatly, the armie making their entrance in the night-time. But as soon as the people knew it, they*

went

(y) *Antiq. l. 18. cap. iii. §. 1.*

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“went in a large body to Cefarea, making earnest supplications,
“that the images might be removed. . . . And at length Pilate gave
“orders, for bringing back the images from Jerusalem to Cefarea.”

And not long after that, *Vitellius*, President of Syria, received orders from Tiberius to attack Aretas, King of Petra. Whereupon he was going to march through Judea. “But (z) some of their chief
“men waited on him, and entreated him, not to lead his armie
“through their countrey, because it was contrarie to their laws, that
“any images should be brought into it, whereas there were a great
“many in his armie. And he hearkened to them, altered his inten-
“tion, and marched his troops another way.”

Our Lord’s disciples and followers therefore might well be alarmed, as soon as they saw Roman armies, with their idolatrous ensigns, appear in an hostile manner in any part of the land of Israel: But as they approached to Jerusalem, the danger would be more imminent and pressing.

And as men unwillingly leave their native countrey, and their accustomed habitations: and removals are always attended with dangers and difficulties: our Lord recommends flight in very urgent terms, least any of those who loved him, and respected his doctrine, should partake in the dreadful calamities of the siege.

*How the
several
Events,
foretold to
precede
the De-
struction
of Jeru-
salem,
came to
pass.
The Gos-
pel preach-
ed all over
the world.*

VI. We now observe some events spoken of by our Lord, which would precede the great calamity coming upon the Jewish nation.

1. One is, that the *doctrine of the gospel* should be preached throughout the Roman Empire, and in other places adjoining to it.

And this gospel of the kingdom, says he, shall be preached in all the world, for a witnesse to all nations. And then shall the end come.

Matt. xxiv. 14. *And the gospel must first be published to all nations.*

Mark xiii. 10.

And however unlikely that might seem, when those words were spoken by our Lord, they were verified. The Epistles of the New Testament,

(z) *Ant. l. 18. cap. v. 3.*

Ch. III. *Christ's Disciples persecuted in many Places.*

51

Testament; still extant, and writ to Christians in divers cities and countreys; are a standing monument of it. For they are sent to believers at *Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Philippi, Colosse, Thessalonica*, and the *Hebrews*. All writ by St. Paul. And the epistles of the Apostle Peter are directed to Christians, residing in *Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia* and *Bithynia*. And the four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles afford evidence, that there were numerous converts to the faith of Jesus. For they were writ for the use of such. St. Paul says Rom. xv. 19. that *from Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, he had fully preached the gospel of Christ*. He reminds the Romans, i. 18. that *their faith was spoken of throughout the whole world*. To the Colossians he observes, that *the gospel had been preached to every creature under heaven*. ch. i. 23. and see ver. 6. The prediction therefore of that great event had been accomplished within the limits of the time assigned for it.

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And *Tacitus* (a) bears witness, that the Christian Religion, which had it's rise in Judea, had spread into many parts, and had reached *Rome* itself, where the professors of it were numerous, and many of them underwent grievous torments in the reign of Nero, about the year of our Lord 64. and afterwards.

2. Our Lord also says to his disciples in his prophetic discourses concerning the coming calamities upon Judea: *Before all these things they will lay their hands upon you, and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues, and into prisons, being brought before kings and rulers for my name sake. . . . And some of you shall they cause to be put to death. And ye will be hated of all men for my name sake.* Luke xxi. 12. and 16. 17. And to the like purpose in the other Evangelists.

*Christ's
Disciples
persecuted
in many
Places.*

The full accomplishment of these things is well known to Christians from the book of the Acts, and the Epistles of the New Testament. The Apostles of Jesus met with great difficulties in preaching the gospel. And the converts made by them were exposed to

H 2

many

(a) *Ann. l. 15. cap. 44.*

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many sufferings. *Peter* and *John*, and all the *Apostles*, were brought before the Jewish Council, and were imprisoned, and beaten, and farther threatened. Acts iv. *Stephen*, an eminent disciple, and Evangelist, suffered death by stoning. vi. vii. *James*, the brother of *John*, was beheaded by king *Agrippa*. Who also shut up *Peter* in prison, with intention to put him to death also. But he was miraculously delivered. ch. xii. *Paul* was kept in prison two years in Judea, and afterwards as long at Rome. He pleaded before *Felix* and *Festus*, Roman Governours in Judea, and king *Agrippa* the younger, as well as before the Jewish Council at Jerusalem. xxi. . . xxviii. And there is good reason to believe, that (b) he was brought before *Nero* himself. Many of his sufferings and dangers are enumerated in 2 Cor. xi. 23. . . 33.

They who received the doctrine taught by the Apostles, had also their share of afflictions and trials. *Paul*, whilst he was their enemy, made havock of the Church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison. And when they were put to death, he gave his voice against them: . . he punished them in every synagogue, and persecuted them even into strange cities. Acts viii. 3. and xxvi. 10. 11. And in his epistle to the Hebrews he observes to them, that they had endured a great fight of afflictions, partly whilst they were made a gazing stock both by reproaches and afflictions: and partly whilst they became companions of those who were so used: and that they had joyfully taken the spoiling of their goods. ch. x. 32. . . 34. And *Agrippa* before-mentioned began with laying his hands upon certain of the church. Acts xii. 1. And that the believers suffered afflictions in other places beside Judea, is manifest from 2 Thess. i. 3. . . 6. *James* ii. 5. . . 7. 2 Pet. iv. 12. . . 19. And the Jews at Rome, whom *Paul* sent for to come to him; say: As concerning this sect, we know that every where it is spoken against.

Tacitus

(b) See that fully proved in the second volume of the Supplement to the Credibility, &c. p. 250. &c.

Tacitus confirms the truth of these predictions of our Lord. He has given a particular account of the sufferings of many Christians at Rome, before the desolations of Judea. In the tenth year of Nero, the 64. of our Lord, there happened a great fire at Rome. Nero was suspected to have set it on fire himself. "For (c) suppressing that common rumour, Nero procured others to be accused, and inflicted exquisite punishments upon those people, who were in abhorrence for their crimes, and were commonly known by the name of Christians." And he says, "that they were condemned, not so much for the crime of burning the city, as for their enmity to mankind." Thus *Tacitus* bears witness, not only to their undeserved sufferings, but also to the reproaches they underwent, agreeably to what our blessed Lord had said, that *they would be hated of all men for his name sake*. However, these innocent sufferers had their supports. For their unerring Master, all whose words were true, has said: *Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.*

3. Farther, our Lord intimates, that before the full accomplishment of his predictions concerning the miseries coming upon the Jewish nation, there would be *declensions* of zeal among his own professed disciples and followers.

Declensions among his Followers.

And then shall many be offended, and shall betray one another. . . . and because iniquity will abound, the love of many will wax cold. Matt. xxiv. 10. 12. And see Mark xiii. 12. 13. and Luke xxi. 16.

What is said of this matter in the Gospels may be verified from the epistles of the New Testament. The whole epistle to the Hebrews is an argument to steadfastness, implying the great danger of apostasy from the faith, or of abatements of zeal for it: *Let us, says he; hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering. . . . And let*

us

(c) Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et exquisitissimis poenis affecit quos per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. . . . Igitur primo correpti qui

fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis convicti sunt. &c. *Ann. 15. c. 44.*

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us consider one another, to provoke unto love and good works, not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together, as the manner of some is. Heb. x. 23. . . 25. and onwards to ver. 39. And ch. xii. 12. Wherefore lift up the hands, which hang down, and the feeble knees. In ch. vi. 4. . . 9. he shews the great guilt, and the deplorable condition of such as apostatize. In his second epistle to Timothie ch. i. 15. This thou knowest, says he, that all they which are of Asia [probably meaning such as were then at Rome] are turned away from me : of whom are Phygellus and Hermogenes. And afterwards ch iv. 16. he complains of other Christians at Rome, who deserted him, when he made his appearance there before Nero. At my first answer, or apologic, no man stood with me : but all men forsook me. And again, in the same epistle, ch. ii. 17. he speaks of Hymeneus and Philetus : who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past, and overthrow the faith of some. And see 1 Tim. i. 19. 20. I allege nothing more from the books of the New Testament.

Tacitus, in his account of Nero's persecution of the Christians, already quoted more than once, does also confirm the truth of this prediction of our Lord. Who says, " that (d) at first they only were " apprehended, who confessed themselves to be of that sect. Afterwards, many more were taken up, whom they discovered to be " of their number."

Nor ought this to be thought exceeding strange, notwithstanding the perfection of the christian doctrine, and the evidences of it's truth. For in a great number of men it is very likely, that some should be overcome by the difficulties and dangers attending the profession of it. So says the chief sower of his heavenly doctrine. Some seed fell in stony places. The same is he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it. Yet hath he not root in himself, but endureth for a while. For when tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by he is offended.

4. Our

(d) *Igitur primo correpti, qui fatebantur : deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens &c. Ann. 15. c. 44.*

4. Our blessed Lord said, that before the great calamity predicted by him, there would be *famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places.* A. D. 76.
Famines
in divers
Places.

We know from the historie in the Acts of the Apostles, that there was a famine in Judea, in the time of the Emperour Claudius. Ch. xi. 25. . . 30. It was not an accidental scarcity at Jerusalem only, but it was a famine all over that countrey. It began in the fourth year of that Emperour, and lasted several years. We have a particular account of it in (e) Josephus. He also says, it was a very severe (f) famine. And in another place (g) he mentions the high price of corn at that season: and says, that this famine happened in the reign of Claudius, not long before the war.

That famine is also taken notice of by Eusebius in (b) his Chronicle, and (i) in his Historie, and by (k) Orosius.

There was also a famine at Rome, and in Italie, mentioned (l) by Dion Cassius, which began in the first year of Claudius, and continued in the next year.

There was another famine in the same reign, mentioned (m) by Tacitus, and (n) Eusebius. Which seems to have been chiefly in the tenth or eleventh year of that Emperour.

To all these (o) Suetonius seems to refer, though he does not mention the years, in which they happened.

Cón-

(e) *Ant. l. 20. ii. 6.*

(f) *Επὶ τοῖς δὴ καὶ μέγαν λιμὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν συνέβη γενέσθαι. Ib. cap. v. 2.*

(g) *ἡ δὲ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ μετὰ τὸν ἔμπερσθεν, Κλαυδίου Ρωμίου Ἀρχόντος, καὶ λιμὸς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν καταλαβόντος, ὡς τεσσαρῶν δραχμῶν πωλεῖσθαι τὸν ἀσπαρῶνα. Ant. l. 3. xv. 3.*

(b) *Chr. p. 160.*

(i) *H. E. l. 2. cap. xii.*

(k) *Or. l. 7. cap. 6.*

(l) *Dis. l. 60. p. 671. al. 949.*

(m) *Frugum quoque egestas, et orta ex eo fames, in prodigium accipiebatur. Tac. Ann. l. 12. c. 43.*

(n) *Fames facta in Graecia. Modius sex drachmis venundatus est. . . . Magna fames Romae. Chr. p. 160. infr. m.*

(o) *Arctiore autem annona propter affiduas sterilitates, &c. Suet. Claud. cap. 18. Vid. et cap. 19. et 20.*

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Concerning the famines in the reign of the Emperour Claudius, some (*p*) modern historians and chronologers might be consulted.

Pestilences.

Our Lord speaks also of *pestilences*. By Josephus we are informed, that about the year of Christ 40: there was (*q*) a pestilence at Babylon, in which the Jews suffered.

In the (*r*) 65. year of the Christian aera there was a great mortality at Rome. At the same time there were other calamities in divers parts of the Roman Empire, as we learn from (*s*) Tacitus, and (*t*) Suetonius, as well as from (*u*) Orosius, who might transcribe from them.

*Earth-
quakes.*

... and *earthquakes*.

Tacitus (*x*) speaks of an earthquake at Rome in the time of Claudius, and of another (*y*) at Apamea in the same reign.

In the reign of Nero there was an earthquake at Laodicea, mentioned

(*p*) *Vid. Pagi. A. D. 72. n. vii. Reimariann, ad Dion Cass. p. 948. See also Credib. P. i. B. i. ch. x.*

(*q*) ... ἐπὶ τῇ Βαβυλῶνι. ἐγένετο ἀν-
ταρσία. *Ant. l. 18. ix. 8.*

(*r*) *Vid. Pagi. A. D. 67. n. iii.*

(*s*) Tot facinoribus foedum annum etiam Dii tempestatibus et morbis insignivere. Vastata Campania turbine ventorum, qui villas, arbusa, fruges passim disjecit, pertulitque violentiam ad vicina Urbi. In qua omne mortalium genus vis pestilentiae depopulabatur, nulla coeli intemperie, quae occurreret oculis. Sed domus corporibus exanimis, itinera funeribus complebantur. Non sexus, non aetas periculo vacua. Servitia perinde ac ingenua plebes raptim exstingui, inter conjugum et liberorum lamenta: qui dum assident, dum descent, saepe eodem rogo cremabantur. Equitum, Senatorumque interitus, quamvis promiscui, minus fle-

biles erant, tanquam communi mortalitate saevitiam principis praevenerent. *Tacit. Ann. 16. cap. 13.*

(*t*) Accesserunt tantis ex principe malis, probrisque, quaedam et fortuita: pestilentia unius autumnus, quo triginta funerum millia in rationem Libitinae venerunt: clades Britannica, qua duo praecipua oppida, magna civium sociorumque caede direpta sunt: ignominia ad Orientem, legionibus in Armenia sub jugum missis, aegreque syria retenta. *Sueton. Nero. cap. 39.*

(*u*) *Oros. l. 7. cap. vii.*

(*x*) Multa eo anno prodigia evenere. Infessum diris avibus Capitolium: crebris terrae motibus prorutae domus. *Ann. 12. cap. 43.*

(*y*) Tributumque Apamienfibus terrae motu convulsis, in quinquennium remissum. *Id. l. 12. cap. 58.*

tioned by (z) Tacitus : and likewise by (a) Eusebius in his Chronicle : who says, that in Asia three cities, namely Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colosse, were overturned by an earthquake. And in like manner (b) Orosius. Possibly, the earthquake, which was most violent at Laodicea, was felt in the other cities likewise.

In the same reign there was an earthquake in Campania, mentioned by (c) Tacitus, and (d) Seneca. By the former it seems to be placed in the year of Christ 62. by the later in the year 63.

And there may have been other earthquakes in the time of the just mentioned Emperours.

5. Our Lord foretells wars and commotions, preceding the final ruin. Matt. xxiv. 6. Mark xiii. 7. Luke xxi. 9.

Josephus (e) has a long storie of a disturbance in Mesopotamia, occasioned by the ambition and indiscretion of two Jews, who were brothers. It seems to have happened (f) about the year of Christ 40. Josephus says, it (g) was not inferior to any calamity, which the

Wars,
and Ru-
mours of
Wars.

(z) Eodem anno ex illustribus Asiae urbibus Laodicea, tremore prolapsa, nullo a nobis remedio, propriis viribus revaluit. *Ib. l. 14. c. 27.*

(a) In Asia tres urbes terrae motu conciderunt. Laodicea, Hierapolis, Colossae. *Eus. Chr. p. 161.*

(b) *Oros. l. 7. cap. vii.*

(c) Iisdemque Consulibus gymnasium ictu fulminis conflagravit, effigiesque in eo Neronis ad informe aes liquefacta. Et motu terrae celebre Campaniae oppidum Pompeii magna ex parte proruit. *Ann. l. 15. c. 22.*

(d) Pompeios, celebrem Campaniae urbem . . . desedisse terrae motu, vexatis quacumque adjacentibus regionibus, Lucili virorum optime, audivimus : et quidem diebus hibernis, quos vacare a tali periculo majores nostri solebant promittere.

Nonis Febr. fuit motus hic, Regulo et Virginio Consulibus, qui Campaniam nunquam securam hujus mali, indemnem tamen, et totiens defunctam motu, magna strage vastavit. Nam et Herculenlis oppidi pars ruit, dubieque stant etiam quae relicta sunt. Et Nucirinorum colonia, ut sine clade, ita non sine querela est. Neapolis quoque privatim multa, publice nihil amisit, leviter ingenti malo perstricta. Villae vero praeruptae passim sine injuria tremuere. Adjiciunt his sexcentarum ovium gregem exanimatum, et divisas statuas, &c. *Sem. Nat. Qu. l. 6. c. 1.*

(e) *Antiq. l. 18. cap. ix.*

(f) *Vid. Usser. A. P. J. 4753 p. 864. Basnag. ann. 40. n. xiii. Tillem. Ruine des Juifs. art. xxviii.*

(g) *Γίγνεται δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ*

A. D. 76. the Jews had suffered hitherto: and that (*b*) it occasioned the death of more than fifty thousand people.

When *Cuspius Fadus* came Procurator into Judea, in the reign of Claudius, in the year of Christ 44. or 45. as (*i*) Josephus says, “ he found the Jews in Peréa in a riot, fighting with the Philadelphians about the limits of the village Mia. And indeed the people of Peréa had taken up arms without the consent of their chief men, and had killed a good number of the Philadelphians. When *Fadus* heard of it, he was much displeased, that they had taken up arms, and had not left the decision of the dispute to him, if they thought the Philadelphians had done them any injurie. Three of the principal men, who were the causes of the sedition, were apprehended, and put in prison: one of whom was afterwards put to death, and the two others banished.”

Afterwards, in the year of our Lord 49. whilst *Cumanus* was Procurator of Judea, there (*k*) happened a tumult at Jerusalem, at the time of Passover. The number of Jews that perished in it, was not less than twenty thousand: as it is in his Antiquities: but in the Jewish War the number is *more than ten thousand*.

Whilst *Cumanus* was yet in Judea, there (*l*) happened a disturbance between the Jews and the Samaritans, in which many were killed on both sides.

Josephus also says, that (*m*) under *Cumanus* the troubles of the Jewish people began, and that in his time they suffered very much.

These disturbances went on encreasing. At Cesarea there had long been contentions between the Jewish people and the other inhabitants.

μία καὶ μάλισα τὴν Βαβυλῶνα οἰκόντας Ἰουδαίους
σύμφορα δεινὴ, καὶ ὑδραιῶς ἥς τίνος ἐλάσσων,
φόνος τε αὐτῶν πολλός, καὶ ὁπόσος ἔχ' ἰσορημένους
πρότερον. *Ib.* §. 1.

(*b*) *Ib.* §. 9.

(*i*) *Ant.* l. 20. cap. i. 1.

(*k*) *Antiq.* l. 20. cap. v. 3. *De B. J.*
l. 2. cap. xii. 1.

(*l*) *Antiq.* l. 20. vi. 1. *De B. J.* l. 2.
xii. 3.

(*m*) . . . ἐφ' ᾧ θορυβοὶ τε ᾤρξαντο, καὶ θοροὶ
παλιν Ἰουδαίων ἐγένετο. *De B. J.* l. 2. c.
xii. 1.

habitants. “ And, as (n) Josephus says, in one hour’s time more
 “ than twenty thousand Jews were destroyed, and all Cesarea was
 “ at once emptied of it’s Jewish inhabitants. Some fled, whom Flo-
 “ rus caught, and sent them bound to the galleys. At which the
 “ whole nation was enraged. They therefore divided themselves
 “ into several parties, and laid waste the villages of the Syrians, and
 “ their neighboring cities, Philadelphia, Sebonitis, Gerasa, Pella, and
 “ Scythopolis: and after them Gadara and Hippos. And falling
 “ upon Gaulanitis, some cities they demolished there, others they set
 “ on fire. Then they went to Kedasa, belonging to the Syrians, and
 “ to Ptolemais, and Gaba, and Cesarea. Nor was Sebaste, or Ash-
 “ kalon able to withstand the violence, with which they were at-
 “ tacked. When they had burnt these to the ground, they demo-
 “ lished Anthedon and Gaza. Many also of the villages round a-
 “ bout these cities were plundered. And an immense slaughter was
 “ made of the men found in them.”

“ The (o) Syrians destroyed not a less number of the Jews. . . . So
 “ that the disorders all over Syria were terrible. For every city was
 “ divided into parties, armed against each other. And the safety
 “ of the one, depended upon the destruction of the other. The
 “ days were spent in slaughter, and the nights in terrours, which were
 “ the worst of the two. . . . It was common to see cities filled with
 “ dead bodies, lying unburied, those of old men mixed with in-
 “ fants, all dead, and scattered about promiscuously, and women
 “ without covering for their nakedness.”

“ At (p) Scythopolis the contention was carried so far, that above
 “ thirteen thousand Jews were killed.”

“ After that (q) other cities also rose up against the Jews that were
 I 2 “ among

(n) Τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ὥρας, ὥς περ ἐκ
 δαιμονίᾳ πονηρίας, ἀνῆλθον οἱ Καισαρεῖς τὰς παρ’
 αὐτῆς Ἰουδαίας ὡς ὑπὸ μίαν ὥραν ἀποσφαγεῖν
 μὲν ὑπὲρ δισμυρίας, κενωθῆναι δὲ πᾶσαν τῶν

Ἰουδαίων Καισαρείαν. De B. J. l. 2. cap.
 xviii. 1.

(o) Ibid. §. 2.

(p) Ib. §. 3.

(q) Ib. §. 5.

A. D. 76. “ among them. They of Ashkalon slew two thousand, and five hundred, they of Ptolemais two thousand, and put many others into prison. The Tyrians acted in the like manner: as did also Hippos and Gadara, and divers other cities of Syria.”

“ At (r) Alexandria fifty thousand lay dead in heaps. Nor would the remainder have been spared, if they had not petitioned for mercie.”

Not long after that, the (s) men of Damascus having got the Jewish inhabitants into the place of exercise, ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ, they came upon them unarmed and slew ten thousand in an hour's time.

These are what our Lord calls *the begining of sorrows*: when there were wars and rumours of wars, one people and nation rising up against another. The end was not yet. Jerusalem was not yet besieged, nor the people in it shut up, for universal destruction. But that period was nigh. See Matt. xxiv. 6. . . 8. Mark xiii. 7. 8. Luke xxi. 9. 10.

*The Oc-
casion of
the Jew-
ish War,
from Jo-
sephus.*

VII. And now I think, it may not be improper for us to take notice of Josephus's accounts of the occasion of the war.

Giving an account of the contentions between the Jews and Greeks, or Syrians, at Cesarea, where the later obtained a decree from Nero, that the government of the city belonged to them, he says: “ And (t) this occasioned the war, which began in the twelfth year of Nero.” Soon after which, the Jews at Cesarea were treated very contemptuously, and injuriously, till they were all destroyed, as he there proceeds to relate: and we have already, in part, transcribed from him.

In the last chapter of the Jewish Antiquities he complains much of *Albinus*, and still more of *Florus*, who succeeded him, and exceeded him in avarice and cruelty: insomuch, that the Jews were
ready

(r) *Ibid.* §. 7. 8.

(s) *De B. J.* l. 2. cap. xx. §. 2.

(t) Ἐν δὲ τῷ 12ῳ οἱ Καισαρίων Ἕλληνες
μικρὸν ἀπὸ Νέρωνος τῆς πόλεως ἀρχὴν, τὰ

τῆς κρίσεως ἐπέμισαν γράμματα. Καὶ προ-
σελάμβανε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ πόλεμος δαδεδιάτω.
μὲν ἔτι τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας. *De B. J.*
l. 2. c. xiv. 4.

ready to consider Albinus, as a benefactor. “Finally (u) says he, “without adding any thing more, it was *Florus*, who compelled us “to take up arms against the Romans, thinking it better to be destroyed all at once, than by little and little.”

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In his own Life he says: “I (x) have mentioned all these things “to shew, that the Jews war with the Romans was not their own “choice, but rather that they were compelled by necessity.”

In another place he says: “And (y) at the temple Eleazar, son of “Ananias the High-Priest, a young man of a daring temper, and “then Governour, persuaded those who officiated in the divine “service, not to accept of the gift or sacrifice of a foreigner. That “was the origin of the war with the Romans. For thus they rejected the sacrifice of Cesar for them. [*That is, as I apprehend, “they refused to offer prayers and sacrifices, as subjects ought to do, for “the Emperour, and for the prosperity of the Roman Empire.*] And “though many of the High-Priests, and of the principal men of “the nation earnestly entreated them, not to omit the customarie respect for their Governours, they could not prevail.”

Afterwards, near the conclusion of his historie of the Jewish War, when the city was actually taken, he says: “But (z) that which “principally encouraged them to the war, was an ambiguous oracle, “found also in their sacred writings, that about this time some one “from their countrey should obtain the empire of the world. This “they understood to belong to themselves. And many of the wise “men were mistaken in their judgement about it. For the oracle “intended the government of Vespasian, who was proclaimed Emperour in Judea.”

That

(u) Καὶ τί δὲ πλείω λέγειν; Τὸν γὰρ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ὁ κατεναγκάσας ἡμᾶς ἄρασθαι, Φλωρος ἦν, κρείττου ἡγούμενος ἀθρόους, ἢ κατ' ὀλίγον ἀπολείσθαι. *Antiq. l. 20. xi. 1.*

(x) . . . ὅτι ἡ προαίρεσις ἐγένετο τῷ πολέμῳ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἰσθιάσις, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλεονάζουσα. *Vit. §. 6.*

(y) . . . ἀναπέθει, μηδενὸς ἀλλοφύλου δῶρον ἢ θυσίαν προσδέχεσθαι. Τὸτο δὲ ἦν τῷ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμῳ καταβολή. Τὴν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶτων θυσίαν Κρίστος ἀπέρριψαν. *De B. l. 2. xvii. 2.*

(z) *De B. §. l. 6. cap. v. 4.*

A. D. 76. That is very a remarkable passage. Some farther notice shall be taken of it by and by.

That the Jewish people were uneasy under subjection to the Romans, even in our Saviour's time, long before the war broke out, appears from many things recorded in the Gospels: as their great aversion to the Publicans, though Jews, who were employed in collecting the Roman tribute: from the question brought to our Saviour, *whether it was lawful to give tribute to Cesar or not.* Matt. xxii. 15...22. Mark xiii. 13...17. Luke xx. 19...26. from the attempt of some, who followed our Lord for a time, to make him a King. John vi. 15. from their frequent and importunate demands; that he would *shew them a sign from heaven*, meaning some token, that he intended to work out for them a temporal deliverance, *that they might believe in him*, and have full assurance of his being the Christ. Matt. xii. 38. xvi. 1...4. and elsewhere: and from divers other things, which must be obvious to all, who have read the Gospels with attention.

This uneasiness under the Roman yoke continued and increased. Observable here is the answer, which was made by Titus, after the temple was burnt, to the petition of Simon and John, the two great leaders of the factions in Jerusalem. "You (a) have never ceased
"rebelling, since Pompey first made a conquest of your country.
"And at length you have declared open war against the Romans.
"...Our kindnesse to you has encouraged your enmity against us:
"who have let you live in your country in peace and quietnesse. In
"the first place we gave you your own country to live in, and set
"over you kings of your own nation, and farther we preserved to you
"your own laws: and withall we have permitted you to live either
"by yourselves, or among others, as you liked best. And which is
"the greatest favour of all, we have given you leave to gather up
"that tribute, which you pay to God, together with all such other
"gifts

(a) *De B. J. l. 6. cap. vi. 2.*

“ gifts as are dedicated to him. Nor have we called those to account,
“ who carried such donations, nor given them any obstruction: till
“ at length you became richer than ourselves, even when you were
“ our enemies, and you have made preparations for the war against
“ us with our own money.”

There are other things likewise in Josephus, which deserve to be taken notice of in this place. Giving an account of the assessment made in Judea after the removal of Archelaus, he says: “ At (b)
“ the persuasion of Joazar the High-Priest, the Jews did generally
“ acquiesce. However, Judas the Gaulanite, of the town called Gamala, associating to himself Sadduc a Pharisee, excited the people
“ to rebellion, telling them, that an assessment would bring in downright slavery, and exhorting the whole nation to assert their liberty. The whole nation heard their discourses with incredible pleasure. And it is impossible to represent the evils the nation has
“ suffered, which were owing to these men. . . For Judas and Sadduc brought in among us this fourth sect. And there being many, who embraced their sentiments, they not only caused disturbances in the government at that time, but laid the foundation of
“ those evils that followed. Which indeed are owing to this principle, till then unknown among us.”

He then delivers the character and principles of the three chief and more ancient sects of the Jews, as he calls them. And after that returns again to the men, of whom he had been speaking before.
“ Judas (c) the Galilean, was the leader of the fourth sect. In all
“ other points they hold the same sentiments with the Pharisees.
“ but they have an invincible affection for liberty, and acknowledge
“ God alone their Lord and Governour . . . From that time the nation became infected with this principle. And Florus, by abusing
“ his power when he was Governour, threw them into despair, and
“ provoked them to rebel against the Romans.”

Those

(b) *Antiq. l. 18. cap. i. §. 1.*

(c) *Ibid. §. 6.*

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Those two passages were cited by me (*d*) formerly. And divers observations were made upon them. Which still appear to me not impertinent. But I am unwilling to repeat them here. And I think, that in the connexion, in which they are now cited by me, it must be apparent from them, without farther remarks, that the nation in general was infected with the doctrine of Judas of Galilee. They had an invincible zeal for liberty, scorned subjection to the Romans, their masters, and took up arms against them. As Cappellus says, “Florus (*e*) by his exactions forced them against their consent, or “rather drove them who were already disposed to it, and wanted “no incitement to rebel against the Romans.”

I would now take farther notice of the passage above cited, wherein our Jewish historian says, *what principally encouraged them to the war was an ambiguous oracle, found in their sacred writings, that about that time some one from their own countrey should obtain the empire of the world.*

False Prophets and false Christians in Judea, as our Lord had foretold.

The truth and importance of that observation, as I apprehend, may be confirmed and illustrated by the accounts, which Josephus has given of numerous impostors, or false-prophets, which arose among them about this time, agreeably to our Lord's predictions, as I shall now shew.

“Whilst (*f*) *Fadus* was Procurator of Judea, a certain impostor, “called (*) *Theudas*, persuaded a very great multitude, taking their effects with them, to follow him to the river Jordan: assuring them, “that he was a Prophet, and that causing the river to divide at his “command, he would give them an easie passage over: By such “speeches

(*d*) *Credibility. Part i. B. i. ch. 9. p. 486. &c.*

(*e*) *Florus, pessimus homo, qui modis omnibus Judaeos cum vexaret et opprimeret, cogit vel invitos, aut potius ultro ruentes impulit, adversus Romanos rebellare. L. Capp. Hist. Jud. p. 121.*

(*f*) *Ant. l. 20. cap. v. 1.*

(*) *That Theudas is different from him, mentioned by Gamaliel, Acts v. 36. as was shewn formerly. Credib. P. i. B. 2. ch. vii. p. 921. &c.*

“ speeches he deceived many. But Fadus was far from suffering
 “ them to go on in their madnesse. For he sent out a troop of horse,
 “ who coming upon them unexpectedly, slew many, and took ma-
 “ ny prisoners. *Theudas* himself was among the last mentioned.
 “ They cut off his head, and brought it to Jerusalem. These things
 “ happened in Judea, whilst *Cuspius Fadus* was Procurator.”

Fadus was sent into Judea by the Emperour Claudius, after the death of Herod Agrippa. This affair of Theudas therefore must be rightly placed in the year of Christ 45. or 46.

That is transcribed from the 20. and last book of the Antiquities. In the same book, afterwards, in another chapter, in the historie of transactions in the time of Nero, Josephus says. “ But (*g*) affairs in
 “ Judea went on continually growing worse and worse. The countrey
 “ was again filled with robbers and impostors, who deceived the peo-
 “ ple. But *Felix* time after time apprehended, and put to death many
 “ of them.” A little lower. “ And (*b*) indeed by means of the crimes
 “ committed by the robbers, the city was filled with all sorts of im-
 “ piety. And impostors and deceivers persuaded the people to follow
 “ them into the wildernesse: where, as they said, they should see ma-
 “ nifest wonders and signs, performed by the providence of God.
 “ And many hearkening unto them at length suffered the punishment
 “ of their folly. For Felix fetched them back, and punished them.
 “ About the same time there came a man out of Egypt to Jerusalem,
 “ who said, he was a Prophet: and having persuaded a good number
 “ of the meaner sort of people to follow him to the mount of Olives,
 “ he told them, that thence they should see the walls of Jerusalem
 “ fall down at his command, and promised through them to give
 “ them entrance into the city. But Felix being informed of these
 “ things, ordered his soldiers to their arms. And marching out of
 “ Jerusalem with a large body of horse and foot, he fell upon the
 “ Egyptian: and killed four hundred of them, and took two hun-

(*g*) *Antiq* l. 20. cap. viii. 5.

(*b*) *Ib.* §. 6.

A D. “dred prisoners. But the Egyptian getting out of the fight escaped.”

76. This same storie is also in the War, with some differences in the numbers, which were considered (*i*), formerly.

There the account concludes in this manner. “When (*k*) they “came to engage, the *Egyptian* fled, followed by a few only. A “large part of those who were with him, were either slain, or taken prisoners. The rest of the multitude being scattered, shifted “for themselves, as they could.”

This is supposed to have happened in the year of Christ 55.

In the War, in the paragraph preceding his account of the Egyptian impostor, having just before related, how Judea then abounded with robbers, called Sicarii, he says: “Beside (*l*) them, there was “another body of wicked men, whose hands indeed were cleaner, “but their intentions were as impious: who disturbed the happy “state of the city no less than those murderers. For deceivers and “impostors, under a pretense of divine inspiration, aiming at changes “and innovations, made the people mad. And induced them to “follow them into the wilderness, pretending, that God would “there give them signs and wonders. Felix judging these proceedings to be no less than the beginning of a revolt, sent out his soldiers, both horse and foot, and destroyed great numbers of them.”

In the forecited chapter of the 20. book of the Antiquities, speaking of the Robbers in the time of *Porcius Festus*, about the year of Christ 60. he says, “that (*m*) he also sent out both horse and foot “to fall upon those, who had been seduced by a certain impostor, “who had promised them deliverance, and freedom from the misery, under which they labored, if they would but follow him “into the wilderness. The forces destroyed both him that had deceived them, and those that followed him.”

Josephus speaks of six thousand, who perished in the outer courts

(*i*) *Credib. Part i. B. 2. ch. viii.*

(*k*) *De B. J. l. 2. c. xiii. 5.*

(*l*) *Ibid. §. 4.*

(*m*) *Ant. l. 20. cap. viii. §. 10.*

courts of the temple, after it had been set on fire. “The (n) soldi-
 “ers, says he, set fire to the portico. Whereupon some threw them-
 “selves headlong down the precipice, others perished in the flames.
 “And not one out of so great a number escaped. A false Prophet
 “was the occasion of the ruin of those people, who on that very
 “day had made proclamation in the city, assuring them, that God
 “commanded them to go up to the temple, where they would re-
 “ceive signs of deliverance. And indeed there were then many
 “prophets, suborned by the tyrants, to impose upon the people, and
 “telling them, that they ought to wait for help from God.”

And presently after, proceeding to relate the omens and prodigies foresignifying the calamities coming upon the Jewish people, and the city of Jerusalem, which shall be recited by and by, he says: “Impostors (o) who spake lies in the name of God, deceived
 “this miserable people. They neither attended to, nor believed
 “the manifest signs, foresignifying the coming desolation. But like
 “infatuated men, who have neither eyes to see, nor minds to per-
 “ceive, they neglected the divine denunciations.”

So truly did our Lord say: *I am come in my Father's name. And ye receive me not. If another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive.* John v. 43.

Our blessed Lord says, Matt. xxiv. 24. *For there will arise false Christs, and false prophets, and will shew great signs and wonders, in-
 somuch that, (if it were possible) they will deceive the very elect.* But our Lord does not intend to say, that any of those false prophets would exhibit or perform great wonders. The original word is δώσωσι *they will give*: the same word that is in the septuagint version of Deut. xiii. 1. *If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and he giveth thee a sign, or a wonder. καὶ δῶ σοι σημεῖον ἢ τέρας*, that is, shall propose, or promise some sign or wonder, as the sequel shews. Parallel with the text just cited from St. Matthew

K 2

is

(n) *De B. J. l. 6. cap. v. §. 2.*(o) *Ibid. §. 3.*

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is Mark xiii. 22. *For false Christs and false prophets will arise, and will shew signs and wonders, the same word again, καὶ δώσοι σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, in order to seduce, if it were possible, even the elect.*

The accounts, which Josephus has given of the impostors in his time, shew the exact accomplishment of these predictions of our Lord. *They persuaded the people to follow them, into the wilderness, where, as they said, they would see manifest signs and wonders performed by the power of God : or, assuring them, that God would there give them signs, and wonders : or, that they should there receive signs of deliverance, and the like.*

The passages of Josephus bear witness to the fulfillment of our Lord's prediction, *that many false prophets would arise, and deceive many.* Matt. xxiv. 11.

Our Lord does also say there, at ver. 5. *And many will come in my name, saying, I am Christ. And will deceive many.* And it is easy to believe, that (p) some of the many false-prophets did expressly take to themselves that title, though Josephus does not say it. But whether they did, or not, our Saviour's predictions are verified in the appearance of those false-prophets. " Josephus, says (q) ABp. Til-
" *lotson*, mentions several of these: of whom, though he does not
" expressly say, that they called themselves the Messiah: yet he says
" that, which is equivalent: that they undertook to rescue the peo-
" ple from the Roman yoke. Which was the thing, which the
" Jews expected the Messiah would do for them. And therefore we
" find, that the disciples who were going to Emmaus, and knew
" not that Christ was risen, and were doubtful what to think of him,
" say: *We hoped, this had been he that should have redeemed Israel:*
" that is, they hoped, this had been the Messiah, that being, it seems,
" a common periphrasis of the Messiah, that he was *he that was to*
" *deliver Israel.*" Which is agreeable to a note of (r) Grotius, up-
on

(p) See Tillemont *Ruine des Juifs*, art.
36. A. D. 52.

(q) Vol. 3. p. 552.

(r) Christi nomine populus Judaicus
intel-

on the place. All they therefore, who pretended, that they were inspired, and sent by God to deliver the Jewish people, were indeed *false-christs*. They took upon themselves the character of the Messiah.

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We may now readily admit the truth of what Josephus says in the passage transcribed not long ago. "That what principally excited the Jewish people, the wise men, as he calls them, as well as others, to the war with the Romans was the expectation of a great deliverer to arise among them, who should obtain the empire of the world." This great deliverer was the Messiah. The numerous *false-prophets* and *false-christs*, of whom Josephus speaks so frequently, and so distinctly, are full proofs of it.

The expectation of the coming of the Messiah, about the time of the appearance of Jesus, was universal, and had been so for some (s) while. But with the idea of a prophet, or extraordinarie teacher of religion, they had joyned also that of a worldly king and conquerour, who should deliver the Jewish People from the burdens under which they laboured; raise them to a state of independence, and bring the nations of the earth into subjection to them, to be ruled and tyrannised over by them. And because our Lord did not perform, nor attempt this, they rejected and crucified him. If he would but have assumed the state and character of an earthly prince, Scribes and Pharisees, Priests and People, would all have joyned themselves to him, and have put themselves under his banner. Of this we see many proofs in the Gospels. This disposition prevailed to the last. The people therefore, though they had already met with many disappointments, when our Lord entred into Jerusalem, in no greater

intelligebat vindicem libertatis. Nam illud, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐλπίζομεν, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ μέλων λυτρεῖσθαι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, descriptio est nominis Christi. Quare quicumque se missos divinitus liberatores populi Judaici dicebant, eo ipso Christos se profitebantur,

et erant ψευδοχριστοί. &c. Grot. in Matt. xxi. 5.

(s) *Proofs of this, together with divers remarks, may be seen in Credib. Part i. B. i. ch. v. p. 289. &c.*

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greater state than riding upon an asse, accompanied him with loud acclamations, and other tokens of respect, saying : *Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is the King, that cometh in the name of the Lord.* And Jesus, our Lord, not assuming then the character of an earthly prince was a fresh disappointment, and left deep resentments. Which rendered them susceptible of the worst impressions from the chief priests, and their other rulers. And at their instigation they desired Pilate the Roman Governour, to set Barabbas at liberty, and crucify Jesus. With which clamorous, and importunate demand, he at length complied, still bearing testimonie to the innocence of him, whom he unwillingly condemned. The account of St. Matthew alone, without any other, will suffice for shewing this amazing transaction. *Pilate saith unto them: What shall I do then with Jesus, who is called Christ? They all say unto him: Let him be crucified. The Governour said: Why! what evil has he done? But they cried out the more, saying: Let him be crucified. When Pilate saw, that he prevailed nothing, and that rather a tumult was made, he took water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying: I am innocent from the blood of this just person. See ye to it. Then answered all the people: His blood be upon us, and upon our children. Then released he Barabbas unto them. And when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified.* Matt. xxvii. 22. . . 26.

The continued expectation of the Messiah, as a worldly King and Conquerour, as we have just seen in Josephus, and their uneasiness under the Roman yoke, were the immediate occasions of their rebelling against the authority, to which they were then subject. And the same principles, that induced them to reject, and crucify Jesus, brought upon them their utter and final ruin.

As the sin of the Jewish People in rejecting and crucifying Jesus, after a life of perfect innocence, and consummate virtue, after speaking as no man had done before, and doing works, which no other man had done, at Jerusalem, and in every part of the land of Israel, after such preparations as had been made for his reception by the

Pro-

Prophets, and by the testimonie of John the Baptist, his forerunner, was (*) very great and aggravated. And as they rejected the renewed offers of mercie, and repeated and earnest calls to repentance, made by Christ's Apostles, and went on encreasing in wickednesse: God at length suffered the Romans to come upon them with an armed force, demolished their temple, and made desolate their city, and their whole countrey, with many circumstances of uncommon and even unparalleled distresse. All which having been foreseen, and often foretold, by the Lord Jesus, in his public discourses: the accomplishment of these predictions, in the event, is an argument of great force in favour of his divine mission, and of his being indeed the Messiah, additional to the excellent doctrine, and wonderfull works of his ministrie.

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VIII. Having shewn the occasion and causes of the war, and having also observed the several things foretold by the Lord Jesus, as preceding it. I now proceed to the historie of the war itself, collecting it from Josephus, and making my extracts in his own words.

The Historie of the Jewish War, and of the Siege of Jerusalem, from Josephus.

The disturbances still encreasing at Jerusalem, and the animosity against Florus being very great, "Cestius Gallus (†) President of Syria, judged it not proper for him to lie still any longer. He therefore determined to march into Judea. Whereupon he took out of Antioch the twelfth legion entire, and out of the rest two thousand chosen men, with six cohorts of foot, and four troops of horse, beside the auxiliaries, which were sent by the Kings. Of which Antiochus sent two thousand horse, and three thousand foot, all archers. Agrippa sent a thousand horse, and two thousand foot.

(*) If ye were blind, ye should have no sin. But now you say, we see: therefore your sin remaineth. John ix. 41. If I had not come and spoken to them, they had not had sin. But now they have no cloake for their sin. If I had not done among them the

works, which no other man did, they had not had sin. But now have they both seen, and hated, both me and my Father. John xv. 22. . . 24.

(†) De B. J. l. 2. cap. xviii. §. 9.

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“ foot. *Sobemus* followed with four thousand. He then marched
 “ to Ptolemais. Agrippa accompanied Cestius, as a guide in the
 “ journey, and as capable of being usefull to him in other respects.
 “ After he was come thither, Cestius took a part of his armie, and
 “ marched hastily to Zabulon, a strong city of Galilee, which sepa-
 “ rates the countrey of Ptolemais from our nation. That he found
 “ destitute of it's men, the multitude having fled to the mountains,
 “ but full of all good things, which he allowed the soldiers to seize
 “ as plunder. And he set fire to the city, though it's buildings were
 “ very beautiful, resembling those of Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus.
 “ After that he overran the neighboring countrey, seising whatever
 “ came in his way, and setting fire to the villagēs. And then re-
 “ turned to Ptolemais.” At this very time, as Josephus adds in the
 same paragraph, the Jews found means to destroy about two thou-
 sand Syrians at Berytus, and near it, Cestius being at a distance.

“ Now (u) Cestius himself marched from Ptolemais, and came to
 “ Cesarea. And then sent part of his armie before him to *Joppa*.
 “ Who coming suddenly upon that people, who were prepared nei-
 “ ther for flight, nor for their own defense, slew them all with their
 “ families, and then plundered, and burnt the city. The number
 “ of the slain were eight thousand and four hundred. In like manner
 “ he sent a number of horse into the toparchie of *Narbata*, not far
 “ from Cesarea, who slew many of the inhabitants, plundered their
 “ goods, and set fire to the villages.”

“ Now (x) also Cestius sent Gallus, commander of the twelfth
 legion into Galilee, where he slew more than two thousand.”

“ Gallus (y) then returned to Cesarea, and Cestius moved with
 “ his whole armie, and came to *Antipatris*. Thence he set forward
 “ to *Lydda*, where he found the place empty of men, the people
 “ being gone up to Jerusalem upon account of the feast of Taberna-
 “ cles. However, he found there fifty men, whom he slew, and
 “ burnt

(u) §. 10.

(x) *Ib.* §. 11.

(y) *Ib.* cap. xix. §. 1.

“ burnt the city. And then marched onward. and going up by
 “ Bethoron, he pitched his camp at Gaba, fifty furlongs from Jeru-
 “ salem.”

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“ The (z) Jews seeing the war approaching to their metropolis,
 “ relying upon their numbers, went out to fight in a hastie and dis-
 “ orderly manner, even in the time of the festival. But the rage,
 “ which made them forget their religion, did also make them su-
 “ perior to their enemies. Cestius with his whole armie was in
 “ danger. Five hundred and fifteen of the Romans were slain,
 “ whilst the Jews lost only two and twenty. The most valiant of
 “ the Jews were Monobazus, and Kenedaeus, related to Monobazus
 “ King of the Adiabenes. Next to them were Niger of Peréa,
 “ and Silas of Babylon, who had deserted from King Agrippa to the
 “ Jews, and Simon son of Gioras, to be hereafter often mentioned.
 “ After that the Jews retired into the city. Cestius stayed there
 “ three days.”

“ At (a) this time Agrippa with the consent of Cestius sent to the
 “ Jews two ambassadours, *Borcaeus* and *Phoebus*, men well known
 “ to them, with assurances of plenarie forgivenesse from Cestius, if
 “ they would lay down their arms, and submit. But the Jews would
 “ not so much as receive the ambassadours. *Phoebus* they fell upon,
 “ and slew him, before he had spoken a word. *Borcaeus* too was
 “ wounded. But he retreated, and escaped.”

“ Soon (b) after that Cestius moved forward with his whole ar-
 “ mie, and encamped upon an elevated spot of ground called Scopus
 “ [signifying the Prospect, or Watch-tower.] Here he rested three
 “ days. On the fourth day, which was the thirtieth of October, he
 “ brought his armie into the city. The seditious, as Josephus calls
 “ them, were much terrified, and retired from the suburbs to the
 “ inner part of the city, and the temple. Cestius soon set fire to the
 “ place called Bezetha, or the new city, and to the wood-market.
 “ After which he came forward to the upper part of the city, and

(z) *Ib.* §. 2.

(a) *Ib.* §. 3.

(b) *Ib.* §. 4.

L

“ pitched

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“ pitched his camp over against the Royal Palace. And if at that
“ time he had attempted to make his way within the walls by force,
“ he would have won the city presently, and put an end to the war
“ at once. But Tyrannus Priscus, a General in the armie, and ma-
“ ny officers of the horse, who had been corrupted by Florus, di-
“ verted him from that design. Which was the occasion, that this
“ war lasted so long, and the Jews were involved in such grievous
“ calamities.”

N. B.

So writes Josephus. And afterwards he says: “ If (c) Cestius had
“ continued the siege a little longer, he had certainly taken the city.
“ But God, as I think, for the wickedness of the people, abhorring
“ his own solemnities, suffered not the war to come to an end at
“ that time.”

“ Cestius (d) then withdrew from the city. The Jews resumed
“ courage, and went after him. And coming upon his rear, de-
“ stroyed a good number both of horse and foot. That night Cesti-
“ us lay at his former camp, Scopus. As he went farther off the
“ the next day, he even invited his enemies to pursue him. The
“ Romans suffered greatly. Among the slain were Priscus, com-
“ mander of the sixth legion, Longinus a tribune, and Aemilius
“ Secundus, commander of a troop of horse. It was not without
“ a great deal of difficulty that they got to Gabao, their former
“ camp, and leaving behind their baggage. There Cestius stayed two
“ days, and was in great perplexity, how to proceed. On the third
“ day he judged it expedient to move.”

“ That (e) he might march on with the greater expedition, he
“ threw away every thing that might retard his march. He killed
“ the mules, and the other beasts, excepting only such as carried
“ weapons of war: which the Romans kept for their own use, and
“ that they might not fall into the hands of the Jews, to be after-
“ wards employed against them. In that march they met with such
“ difficult-

(c) §. 6.

(d) §. 7.

(e) §. 8.

“ difficulties, that the Jews were near taking the whole armie of
 “ Cestius prisoners. And would have effected it, if night had not
 “ come on.”

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“ In (*f*) their flight they left behind them many engines for sieges,
 “ and for throwing stones, and a great part of their other instru-
 “ ments of war. The Jews pursued them, as far as Antipatris, and
 “ then returned, taking up the engines, spoiling the dead bodies,
 “ and gathering up the prey, which the Romans had left behind
 “ them. So they came back to their metropolis with great rejoy-
 “ cings. They lost but a few men themselves. But they had slain
 “ of the Romans and their auxiliaries five thousand and three hun-
 “ dred foot, and three hundred and eighty horse. These things
 “ happened on the eighth day of November, in the twelfth year
 “ of the reign of Nero.”

“ After (*g*) that calamity had befallen Cestius, says Josephus, ma-
 “ ny of the most considerable of the Jewish people forsook the city
 “ as men do a sinking ship.”

And it is very likely, that at this time many of the Christians also
 withdrew from Jerusalem, and Judea. Eusebius says, that (*b*) be-
 fore the war began, the Christians left Jerusalem, and went to a
 place beyond Jordan, called Pella. Epiphanius (*i*) speaks to the like
 purpose. Eusebius does not quote any ancient author for what he
 says. But it might be founded upon tradition, and such as could be
 relied upon. As he resided near the place, he might have satisfac-
 tory information of it, and receive the account from the descendents
 of those Jewish believers.

However, some of them may have gone abroad into the other
 countreys. St. John, as is well known, lived for some time in A-

L 2

sia.

(*f*) *Ib.* §. 9.

(*g*) Μετά δὲ τὴν Κεσίου συμφορὰν, πολλοὶ
 τῶν ἐπιφανῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὡς περ βαπτιζομένων
 νεώς, ἀπενήχυντο τῆς πόλεως. *De. B.* §. 1.
 2. c. xx. §. 1.

(*b*) . . . πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, μετασῆναι τῆς
 πόλεως, καὶ εἰς τινὰ τῆς Περσίας πόλιν οἰκῆν. . .
 Πέλλαν αὐτὴν ἐνομάζουσιν. *H. E. l. 3. cap.*
v. p. 75. A.

(*i*) *H. 29. §. vii.*

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fia. When he came thither, we cannot say exactly : but probably, in the year of Christ 66. or sooner. Some of the Jewish believers might go with him out of Judea, or come to him into Asia afterwards. St. John in his third epistle, ver. 6. speaks of *strangers*, who were under difficulties. Some learned men have supposed, that (*k*) thereby are meant Jewish believers, who had been driven out of Palestine, or had fled from it, induced thereto by the necessity of the times, and their fidelity to Christ, and had left their substance behind them.

I think, we may reckon it to be certain, or at least highly probable, that none of the faithful disciples of Jesus were shut up in Jerusalem at the siege : and that most of them left it some while before it began, in the year of Christ 66. or thereabout, or sooner.

Our blessed Lord speaking of the difficulties of these times, and of the declensions of some of his followers, encourages faithfulness in strong terms. Mark xiii. 13. . . *And ye shall be hated of all men for my name sake. But he that shall endure unto the end, shall be saved.* And Luke xxi. 17. . . 19. *And ye shall be hated of all men for my name sake. But there shall not an hair of your head perish. In your patience possess ye your souls.* And compare Matt. x. 21. 22. These gracious assurances were now fulfilled. The difficulties, which the followers of Jesus met with, were very great. And the *love of many waxed cold*, and some apostatized to Judaism, to avoid sufferings. Nevertheless they gained nothing by it. They joyned themselves to the unbelieving part of the nation, and had part with them in the heave calamities, which befell them. But the faithful followers of Jesus, who were steady to their profession, and attended to his predictions concerning coming calamities, and observed the signs of their near approach, escaped, and obtained safety, with only the lesser difficulties of a flight, which was necessarie in the time of a general calamity.

The

(*k*) See the Supplement to the Credib. vol. 3. p. 311.

The (*l*) Jews who had defeated Cestius, upon their return to Jerusalem appointed governours and commanders for several places. *Joseph son of Gorion*, and *Ananus* the High-Priest, were chosen to govern the city, and to repair the walls. *Josephus son of Matthias*, our historian, was made governour of both the *Galilees*. Others were sent to other places.

Cestius (*m*) sent messengers to Nero in Achaia, to give him an account of what had happened, and of the state of affairs in Judea, and to lay the blame of all the disturbances upon *Florus*.

Nero (*n*) as *Josephus* says, was not a little moved at these things, though he dissembled his concern. However, he chose for a General a man of known valour, and experience in war, several of whose important services are here mentioned by *Josephus*, agreeably to the testimonie of the (*o*) Roman authors. Who represent *Vespasian*

(*l*) *Ib. cap. xx. §. 3. 4.*

(*m*) *Ib. cap. xx. §. 1.*

(*n*) *De B. J. l. 3. cap. i. §. 1. 2.*

(*o*) *Missu Neronis, Vespasianus fortuna, fama que, et egregiis ministris, &c. Tacit. Hist. L. v. cap. 10.*

Claudio principe, Narcissi gratia legatus legionis in Germania missus est. Inde in Britanniam translatus, tricies cum hoste conflavit. . . Peregrinatione Achaica inter comites Neronis, cum cantante co discederet saepius, aut praefens obdormisceret, gravissimam contraxit offensam. Prohibitique non contubernio modo, sed etiam publica salutatione, secessit in parvam ac deviam civitatem, quoad latenti, etiamque extrema metuenti, provincia cum exercitu oblata est. Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judaea profecti rerum potirentur. Id de Imperatore Ro-

mano, quantum eventu postea praedictum patuit. Judaei ad se trahentes rebellaverunt: caesoque Praeposito, Legatum insuper Syriae consularem suppetias ferentem, raptâ Aquilâ fugaverunt. Ad hunc motum comprimendum cum exercitu ampliore, et non instrenuo duce, cui tamen tuto tanta res committeretur, opus esset, ipse potissimum delectus est: et ut industriae expertae, nec metuendus ullo modo ob humilitatem generis ac nominis. Aditis igitur ad copias duabus legionibus, octo alis, cohortibus decem, atque inter Legatos majore filio assumpto, ut primum provinciam attigit, proximas quoque convertit in se. Correcta statim castrorum disciplina: uno quoque et altero proelio tam constanter inito, ut in oppugnatione castelli lapidis ictum genu scuto sagittas aliquot exceperit. *Sueton. Vespasian. cap. iv.*

A. D. 76. fian to have been chosen for this service out of regard to his merit, when upon some accounts he was disagreeable to Nero.

Vespasian (*p*) sent his own son Titus from Achaia, where he then was, to Alexandria, to fetch thence the fifth and tenth legions. Himself, having crossed the Hellespont, went by land into Syria, where he gathered together the Roman forces, and a good number of auxiliaries from the neighboring princes.

The (*q*) Jews elevated by the advantages, which they had gained over Cestius, determined to carry the war to a greater distance. Accordingly they marched to Ashkalon, a city always at enmity with them, distant from Jerusalem 550 furlongs. [*more than 60 miles.*] Here the Jewish people were defeated in two attacks, losing more than eighteen thousand men, and two of their Generals, *John the Essén*, and *Silas* the Babylonian. *Niger* the Peraite the third General, narrowly escaped with his life.

Vespasian (*r*) when he arrived at Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, reckoned the third city of the Roman Empire for magnitude and dignity, found there Agrippa waiting for him. And taking the whole armie with him, he soon marched forward to Ptolemais.

Titus (*s*) making great expedition than could have been expected, especially in the winter season, came to his father at Ptolemais, bringing with him the fifth and tenth legions. To which were added the fifteenth legion, and eighteen cohorts. There were also five cohorts from Cesarea, with one troop of horse, and also five other troops from Syria. There was also a considerable number of auxiliaries from the Kings *Antiochus* [of Comagene] and *Agrippa*, and *Seleucus*, and *Malchus* the Arabian. So that the whole armie of Romans and auxiliaries, horse and foot, amounted to about sixty thousand men, beside servants, whom Josephus represents as far from being usefess, according to the Roman discipline.

Thus we have pursued the historie to the end of the year 66. and into the begining of the year 67.

Ves-

(*p*) *De B. J. l. 3. cap. i. §. 3.*

(*q*) *Ib. cap. ii. §. 1. 2. 3.*

(*r*) *Ibid. §. 4.*

(*s*) *Ib. cap. iv. n. 2.*

Vespasian (*t*) stayed some while at Ptolemais. However Placidus, who was before sent into Galilee, destroyed many, whom he met with in the open countreys. He also made an attack upon Jotapata, but was repulsed.

Vespasian (*u*) leaves Ptolemais, and marcheth with his armie in great order into Galilee.

The (*x*) first place taken by Vespasian was *Gadara*, which at that time had in it few men of a militarie age. But he slew all the young people: the Romans, from hatred of the Jews, and resenting the defeat of Cestius, having no mercie on any age. He also set fire to the city, and burnt all the villages, and smaller towns, round about: making some totally desolate, in others taking some captives.

Josephus (*y*) leaves Tiberias, and enters *Jotapata* on the 21. day of May.

The (*z*) next day Vespasian marches to Jotapata, at (*a*) the siege of which he received a slight wound in one of his feet.

“ Whilst (*b*) Vespasian lay with his armie before Jotapata, he
“ sent Trajan, commander of the tenth legion, to *Japha*, not far
“ off. The place was strong, and surrounded by a double wall. A
“ large number made a salley upon the Romans. Being beaten back
“ they retired within the outer wall. But when they came to the
“ inner wall, their fellow-citizens refused to admit them, least the
“ Romans should also force their way in with them. And (*c*) now, N. B.
“ says Josephus, it might be seen, that God had given up the Ga-
“ lileans to the Romans, to be destroyed by their cruel enemies.
“ The number of the slain in the distresse between the two walls
“ was twelve thousand. Of this Trajan gave information to Vespasian,

(*t*) *L. 3. cap. vi. 1.*

(*u*) *Ib. n. 2. 3.*

(*x*) *Cap. vii. 1.*

(*y*) §. 3.

(*z*) *Ib. 4.*

(*a*) *Ib. §. 22.*

(*b*) *Ib. §. 31.*

(*c*) Θεός δ' ἦν ἄρα, ὁ Ρωμαίοις τὰ Γαλι-
λαίων πάλιν χαρίζομενος. κ. λ. *Ibid.*

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 “have the honour of completing the conquest.”

“Vespasian suspecting there might still be some difficulty, sent
 “Titus with five hundred horse, and a thousand foot. When the
 “place was taken, all the people, young and old, were destroyed.
 “None were saved, excepting the male infants, and the women,
 “who were made slaves. The number of those, who were slain
 “now, and in the former attack, were fifteen thousand. The pri-
 “soners were two thousand a hundred and thirty. This calamity
 “befell the Galileans on the five and twentieth day of May.”

At (*d*) the same time the *Samaritans* got together in a riotous manner at mount Garizim. Whereupon Vespasian sent against them Cerealis, commander of the fifth legion, with six hundred horse, and three thousand foot. Who slew them all, to the number of eleven thousand and six hundred. This happened on the 25 day of the month of June.

Now (*e*) the final attack was made upon Jotapata, which was taken after a siege of forty seven days. All of every age were slain, except infants and women. The captives were a thousand and two hundred. The number of slain in the last attack, and in the former encounters was forty thousand. Vespasian ordered the city to be demolished, and set fire to all the castles. Thus Jotapata was taken on the first day of July, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Nero.

I think it may be worth the while to observe here, for shewing the violent and desperate disposition of the Jewish people at this time:
 “that (*f*) in the distresse of the last attack, when the Romans were
 “got within the walls of Jotapata, many of the people made away
 “with themselves, rather than come into the hands of the Romans.
 “Josephus calls them chosen men, who were near his person. They
 “could

(*d*) *Ibid.* p. 32.

(*e*) §. 33. . . . 35.

(*f*) Τέτο πολλὰς καὶ περὶ τὸν Ιάσηπον ἐπι-
 λεκτὰν, ἐπ’ αὐτοχειρίαν παρῴζει. Κατι-

δύτες γὰρ, ὥς ἐδέξα τῶν Ρωμῶν ἀνελθόν δύνανται, τίγε μὴ πεσόν αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ Ρωμῶν προέλαβον, καὶ συναθροισθέντες ἐπὶ τὰ καταλήγοντα τῆς πόλεως σφᾶς αὐτὸς ἀνέλκον. §. 34.

“ could not kill the Romans. And they resolved not to be killed
“ by them.”

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Undoubtedly, my readers recollect here what was taken notice of (g) formerly, which happened presently afterwards, in the cave, where (b) Josephus and forty other persons of distinction had hid themselves. And several other like instances may appear hereafter, as we proceed in this historie, which ought not to pass unnoticed.

Josephus (i) now came into the hands of the Roman General. He was still a prisoner, and carried a chain. But he had change of apparel given him, and was otherwise well used.

The (k) siege of Jotapata being over, on the fourth of July Vespasian returned to Ptolemais. Thence he went to Cesarea by the sea-side. Here he put two legions, for some while, for their refreshment: but sent the tenth and fifth to Scythopolis, that Cesarea might not be overburdened.

“ In (l) the mean time he sent some of his soldiers, both horse
“ and foot, to *Joppa*. Which though it had been demolished not
“ long since by Cestius, was repeopled by men who had escaped from
“ other cities. Here they built many ships, and exercised a kind
“ of piracie. Upon the approach of the Romans they betook them-
“ selves to their ships, which met with a violent storm, and were
“ cast away. The number that perished was computed to be four
“ thousand and two hundred. Here (m) also some rather than be
“ drowned, or be cast on the shore, and then be killed by the Romans,
“ put an end to their own lives. The place was now entirely demo-
“ lished. However, by Vespasian’s direction, a number of horse and
“ foot were left here, with orders to destroy the neighboring villa-
“ ges. So those troops overrun the countrey, as they were ordered,
“ and laid waste the whole region.”

(g) See p. 33.

(b) . . . ἐνθα τεσσαράκοντα μὲν τῶν ἐπι-
σῆμων ἀνδρας καταλαμβάνει λαμβάνοντας. *Ib.*
cap. viii. 1.

(i) *Ib.* §. 9.

(k) *Ibid. cap. 9. §. 1.*

(l) §. 2. 3. 4.

(m) Τινὲς δὲ ὡς κερσιτέρῳ τὴν θάλασσαν
ἔσθαι, τῷ σιδήρῳ σπᾶς οὐτὸς ἀναίρουντες. *Ib.*

§. 3.

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In (*n*) a short time Vespasian went from Cesarea before mentioned to Cesarea Philippi, to pay a compliment to King Agrippa, by whom he had been invited, and by whom he was now entertained twenty days.

Hearing (*o*) of the revolt of *Taricheas* Vespasian sent thither his son Titus. *Taricheas* (*p*) was a strong place, and had been fortified by Josephus. The number of people who perished in the several attacks, and in taking the city, was six thousand and five hundred.

After (*q*) which Vespasian sat upon his tribunal, to consider what should be done with the people that remained. And at length by his order all the old men and other useless people, to the number of twelve hundred, were slain. Out of the young men he chose six thousand of the strongest, whom he sent to Nero to work at the Isthmus. The rest he sold for slaves, who were in number thirty thousand and four hundred. This was done on the eighth day of September.

The place (*r*) to which Vespasian went next was *Gamala*. Where he met with great difficulties, and many of the Romans were slain. It was taken at last on the 23. day of October. When there was no way of escaping left, many Jews threw their children, their wives, and themselves from the hill on which the citadel was built into the deep valley below. The number of those who thus precipitated themselves was computed to be five thousand. The rest amounted to four thousand. For here the Romans spared none, not even infants. None escaped, except two women.

To *Gischala* (*s*) Vespasian sent Titus. Here about six thousand were slain. But *John*, son of *Levi*, who had commanded in the place, escaped, and got to Jerusalem, with some others. Which

as

(*n*) *Ibid.* §. 7.

(*o*) *Ib.* §. 7.

(*p*) . . . *Cap.* x. 1. . . 10.

(*q*) §. 10.

(*r*) *De B. J. l. 4. cap. 1. §. 1. . . 10.*

(*s*) *Ibid. cap. ii. n. 1. . . 5.*

(*t*) as our historian says, was the work of God, who saved John for the destruction of Jerusalem.

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“ Thus says (*u*) Josephus, was all *Galilee* subdued, after it had “ cost the Romans much labour.”

The (*x*) next chapter of our Author contains an account of the state of things in Jerusalem, after John came into it. Where he likewise says: “ At (*y*) the same time there were disturbances, and “ civil wars in every city. And all they who were quiet from the “ Romans, turned their hands one against another. At this time “ Robbers, and others of the worst characters, came into the city, “ where it had been long usual to receive all who came. But their “ numbers consumed those provisions, which might have been of “ use in a siege.”

They (*z*) now exercised tyrannie over the most considerable men. *Antipas*, a man of royal lineage, the most potent man in the city, to whom the care of the public treasure had been committed, they laid hold of, and sent to prison: and after him *Levias*, a man of great distinction, and *Sopbas*, son of Raguel, a man of like eminence, and both of royal lineage. And (*a*) not thinking themselves safe, whilst they were living, they sent some men of desperate characters, to put them to death in the prison.

Dissensions (*b*) encreasing, there were slain (*c*) in one night eight thousand and five hundred, and afterwards (*d*) twelve thousand of the better sort, beside many others. Here also are mentioned by name, as put to death by the zealots, or others, divers men of great eminence, whose deaths our historian laments in pathetic terms: *Ana-*

M 2

nus

(*t*) Θεῶ δὲ ἦν τὸ ἔργον, ὅρα τὸ σῶζοντος
τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἕλεθρον.
§. 3.

(*u*) Γαλιλαῖα μὲν ὅν ἔτις ἐλάω πᾶσα,
πολλοὶς ἰδρῶσι προγυμνάσατο Ῥωμαῖοις. §. 5.

(*x*) *Ib.* cap. 3.

(*y*) *Ib.* §. 2. 3.

(*z*) §. 4.

(*a*) §. 5.

(*b*) *L.* 4. cap. v. *Et Conf.* cap. iii.

§. 7.

(*c*) *Cap.* v. §. 1.

(*d*) Μύριοι δὲ καὶ διχίλιοι τῶν ἐυγενῶν
ἔτις δειρθήσαν. §. 3.

A. D. 76. *mus* (e) the most ancient of the High-Priests, *Jesus* also High-Priest, inferior to Ananus, but yet a person of great eminence, and *Zacharias* son of Baruch, different from *Zacharias*, mentioned in Matt. xxiii. 35. and Luke xi. 51. as was shewn in another (f) place.

Soon (g) after this was put to death by the zealots *Gorion*, a man of great eminence for his own virtues, as well as upon account of his familie. Nor did *Niger* the Peraite escape their hands, though he had been so serviceable to them in this war. "When (b) they " were killing him, he uttered this imprecation upon them, that " beside the war, they might undergo famine and pestilence, and " after that come to the mutual slaughter of each other. All which " imprecations God ratified against those wicked men. And most " justly did they soon after reap the fruit of their madnesse in their " mutual dissensions."

These (i) things being heard of in the Roman camp, the commanders were for hastening the attack upon the city. But *Vespasian*, as *Josephus* says, answered them, that the Jews were not now making armour, nor building walls: but they are every day tearing themselves to pieces by intestin wars and dissensions: and suffer greater miseries, than could be inflicted upon them by us, if they were in our hands. And it was the best way to let the Jews destroy one another.

These things we suppose to have happened at the end of the year 67. and the begining of 68.

" However, *Vespasian* was not inattentive to affairs, and took care " to reduce other places, before he went to *Jerusalem*. He then left " *Cesarea* for a while, and marched to *Gadara*, the metropolis of " *Perea*, as *Josephus* says, and entred it on the fourth day of March.

" After which he returned to *Cesarea*, and left *Placidus* to carry " on the war in those parts. Who (k) took *Abila*, *Julias*, and *Be-*
" *semoth*,

(e) §. 2. et 4.

(f) See *Credibility*. P. i. B. 2. ch. 6. p.

903. &c.

(g) *Ib.* cap. vi. §. 1.

(b) *Ib.* §. 1.

(i) *Ib.* §. 2.

(k) *L.* 4. cap. vii.

“ *Jemoth*, and other smaller cities and villages, as far as the lake Aphaltites. Inſomuch that now all *Perea* was in the hands of the Romans, excepting *Macherus*. This expedition was very fatal to the Jews. Many of the Jewiſh people were ſlain by the ſword, others were driven into the river Jordan. The number of the ſlain was not leſs than fifteen thouſand, beſide two thouſand and two hundred, which were made captives. And Placidus had a rich booty of aſſes, and ſheep, camels, and oxen. This diſaſter was equal to any that had yet befallen the Jews.”

In the mean time (*l*) Veſpaſian with a part of his armie went from Ceſarea to *Antipatris*: where he ſpent two days in ſettling the affairs of that city. On the third day he marched on, laying waſte and burning all the villages. And when he had laid waſte all the places about the toparchie of *Thamnas*, he paſſed on to *Lydda* and *Jamnia*. And then came to *Ammaus*. Thence he went to the toparchie of *Betbleptephon*. And deſtroying that and other neighboring places, he ſlew more than ten thouſand, and made captives more than a thouſand. And on the ſecond day of the month of July he pitched his camp at *Corea*, not far from *Neapolis*, called by the people of the countrey *Mabortha*. And then went to *Jericho*.

Not long afterwards he returned to Ceſarea. And (*m*) now, when he was getting ready all his forces for the ſiege of Jeruſalem, he hears of the death of Nero, which happened on the tenth of June, in the year of our Lord 68. Wherefore Veſpaſian for a while put off his intended expedition againſt Jeruſalem: waiting to ſee to whom this Empire would be transferred, and expecting to receive orders from him.

During the remaining part of the year 68. and the year 69. little (*n*) N. B. was done by the Romans in the war againſt the Jews. They kept garriſons in the places already conquered, and fortified ſome places. But they

(*l*) *Ib. Cap. viii. 1.*(*m*) *Ib. cap. ix. 1. 2.*(*n*) *Nihil hoc anno alicujus momenti in Judaea geſtum. Pagi ann. 69. n. xiii.*

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they made little progress, and the siege of Jerusalem was deferred. This delay was a favourable opportunity for the Jewish people to consider and relent, and make peace with the Romans their enemies, having first repented of their sins, and humbled themselves before God. But nothing of that kind came to pass. They went on in their old way, quarrelling among themselves, and forming parties, weakening themselves by divisions and contentions, and thereby hastening their ruin.

Our Lord foresaw this, as appears from the terms of all his predictions concerning them. He foresaw, that nothing would reclaim them, after his own teachings had failed of the effect. *When he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying: If thou hadst known, even thou, in this thy day the things that belong to thy peace. But now they are hid from thy eyes. For the days will come upon thee, that thy enemies shall compass thee round, and lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.* Luke xix. 41... 44. He would still send among them prophets, wise men, and scribes, his Apostles and Evangelists. But they would not hearken to them. They would reject their message, and abuse them. Matt. xxiii. 34.

At (d) this time, says Josephus, a new war began at Jerusalem. And Simon, son of Gioras, who for a while had been troublesome to the people there by his furious attacks upon the place, was admitted (e) into the city, in the month of April, near the end of the third year of the war.

On the third day of July in the year of our Lord 69. Vespasian was proclaimed Emperour (f) by the Roman armie in Judea: as (g) he

(d) Ενανίσταται δὲ ἄλλος τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις πόλεμος. L. 4. c. ix. §. 3. in.

(e) Cap. ix. §. 12.

(f) Ib. cap. x.

(g) Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum Imperii Alexandriae coeptum, festinante Ti-

berio Alexandro, qui Kal Jul. sacramento ejus legiones adexit. Isque primus principatus dies in posterum celebratus, quamvis Judaicus exercitus v. nonas Jul. apud ipsum jurasset, eo ardore, ut ne Titus quidem filius expectaretur, Syriam remeans,

he had been proclaimed on the first day of the same month at Alexandria, which day was reckoned the beginning of his reign.

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And may we not be allowed to suppose, that *Vespasian* and *Titus* were thus advanced by way of recompense for their services, as instruments in the hand of providence for inflicting that punishment upon the Jewish people, which their crying sins deserved, and thus accomplishing the predictions concerning it. We cannot say, that they were truly virtuous. But they were persons of great eminence, and many abilities. And they had a more social and benevolent disposition, than many others. *Titus* in particular is represented by Roman authors, as a man of a very amiable (*b*) character. And *Josephus*, who was present with him in the war, often says, that he unwillingly treated the Jewish people so severely, as he did, and that he often made them offers of mercie, if they would lay down their arms, and accept of reasonable terms.

Vespasian (*i*) not long after this, went to Alexandria, and thence to Rome, leaving his son *Titus*, to carry on the war in Judea.

Vespasian stayed some months at Alexandria, waiting for a fair wind, and good weather, or upon account of some political views and considerations. Several extraordinarie things are related to have happened, during his stay there: Which are related very briefly by (*k*) *Dion Cassius*, more particularly by (*l*) *Suetonius*, and still more prolixly by (*m*) *Tacitus*.

“ Two

et confiliorum inter Municianum et patrem nuntius. *Tacit. Hist. 2. cap. 79. Conf. Sueton. Vespasian. cap. 6. Vid. et Pagi ann. 69. n. vii. et Basnag. ann. 69. n. xxi.*

(*b*) *Titus*, cognomento paterno, amor ac deliciae humani generis. *Sueton. Tit. cap. i.*

(*i*) *Jos. De B. J. l. 4. cap. xi.*

(*k*) *Dio. l. 66. n. 8. p. 1082.*

(*l*) Auctoritas et quasi majestas quaedam, ut scilicet inopinato et adhuc novo Principi, deerat: haec quoque accessit. E

plebe quidam luminibus orbatus, item alius debili crure, sedentem pro tribunali pariter adierunt, orantes opem valetudinis, demonstratam a Serapide per quietem: restitutum oculos, si inspisset: confirmaturum crus, si dignaretur calce contingere. Cum vix fides esset rem ullo modo successuram, ideoque ne experi ri quidem auderet: extremo hortantibus amicis, palam pro concione utrumque tentavit, nec eventus defuit. *Sueton. Vespas. cap. vii.*

(*m*) Per eos menses, qui *Vespasianus* Alex-

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“Two men of low rank at Alexandria, one of them blind, the other lame in one of his hands, came both together to him in a humble manner, saying, that they had been in dream admonished by the god Serapis to apply to him for cure of their disorders. Which they were assured might be done for the one, if he would be pleased to anoint his eyes and face with his spittle, and for the other, if he would vouchsafe to tread upon his hand. Vespasian, as is said, hesitated for a while. However, the Physicians having been consulted, they gave their opinion, that the organs of sight were not destroyed in the blind man, and that sight might be restored, if obstacles were removed: and that the other’s hand was only disjoined, and with proper remedies might be set right again. At length, moved by the entreaties of the distempered persons, and encouraged by the flatteries of those about him, Vespasian performed what had been desired. And the effect was answerable. One of them presently recovered the use of his hands, and the other his sight.”

I do not see reason to believe, that any miracle was now wrought. It was a contrivance between Vespasian and his friends and favorites.

Nor

Alexandriae statos aestivis flatibus dies, et certa maris opperiebatur, multa miracula evenere quis coelestis favor et quaedam in Vespasianum inclinatio numinum ostenderetur. Ex plebe Alexandrina quidam oculorum tabe notus, genua ejus advolvitur, remedium coecitatis exposcens gemitu: monitu Serapidis dei, quem de diti superstitionibus gens ante alios colit. Precabaturque principem, ut genas et oculorum orbes dignaretur respergere oris excremento. Alius manu aeger, eodem deo auctore, ut pede ac vestigio Caesaris calcaretur, orabat. Vespasianus primo irridere, aspernari: atque illis instantibus, modo famam vanitatis mesuere, obsecratione ipsorum, et vocibus a-

dulantium, in spem induci: postremo aestimari a medicis jubet, an talis caecitas ac debilitas ope humana superabiles forent. Medici varie differere: Huic non exesam vim luminis, et redituram, si pellerentur obstantia: illi illapsos in pravum artus, si salubris vis adhibeatur, posse integrari. . . Igitur Vespasianus cuncta fortunae suae parere ratus, nec quidquam ultra incredibile, laeto ipse vultu, erecta quae astabat multitudine, iussa exsequitur. Statim conversa ad usum manus, ac coeco reluxit dies. Utrumque qui interfuere nunc quoque memorant, postquam nullum mendacio pretium. *Tacit. Hist. 4. cap. 81.*

Nor (*n*) could it be safe for any to examine and make remarks upon an event, which an Emperour and his favorites recommended to public belief.

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Suetonius has accounted for these stories in the introduction to his narration, saying, that *somewhat was wanting to give dignity and authority to a new chosen Emperour*. And at the begining of his life of Vespasian, he observes, “ that (*o*) the Flavian familie was not renowned for it’s antiquity.” And it is easie for any to discern from several things said by Suetonius and Tacitus, that Vespasian was very willing to encourage the belief of extraordinarie things concerning himself.

I think, that what Spartian (*p*) writes of some miracles ascribed to Adrian, may illustrate this historie. And therefore I have transcribed him below very largely. Spartian lets us know, that *Marius Maximus*, who before him had writ the Life of Adrian, and some other Emperours, said, those miracles were mere fictions. And says the learned and judicious *Reimar* in his notes upon Dion Cassius: “ Nor (*q*) ought we to form any other judgement of the miracles ascribed to Vespasian.” And perhaps it may deserve notice, that

(*n*) Ad rei ipsius veritatem quod adtinet, non facile affirmantibus credere licet, cum vix tutum esset id negare, quo Imperatori obsequentiores Aegyptii, et quod proinde intererat Imperatoris, verum videri. Fraudes ejus retegere, qui fallere vult, et omnibus Reipublicae copiis instructus est, numquam tutum fuit. &c. *Cleric. Ann. 138. n. iii.*

(*o*) Imperium suscepit, firmavitque tandem gens Flavia: obscura illa quidem, ac sine majorum imaginibus. *Vespasian. cap. i.*

(*p*) Ea tempestate supervenit quaedam mulier, quae diceret, somnio se monitam, ut insinuaret Adriano, ne se occideret, quod esset bene valiturus: quod cum non fecisset esse caecatam: Jussam tamen ite-

rum Adriano eadem diceret, atque genua ejus oscularetur, receptura visum, si id fecisset. Quod cum insomnium impleisset, oculos recepit, quum aqua quae in sano erat, ex quo venerat, oculos abluisset. Venit et de Pannonia quidam natus caecus ad febrientem Adrianum, eumque contigit: quo facto et ipse oculos recepit, et Adrianum febris reliquit: quamvis Marius Maximus haec per simulationem facta commemoret. *Spartian. Hadrian. cap. 25.*

(*q*) Sed Marius Maximus haec per simulationem facta commemorat. Ita diserte Spartianus Hadr. c. 25. Nec aliter de Vespasiani miraculis existimandum. *Reimar. in Dion Cass. l. 66. §. 50. p. 1083.*

N

notwith-

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notwithstanding such fine things were ascribed to Vespasian, Dion presently afterwards says, “ he (*r*) was not at all acceptable to the Alexandrians, but they hated him, and ridiculed and reproached him both in public and private.”

However *Crevier's* observation is to this effect. “ At (*s*) the same time, we ought carefully to observe, that these disorders, which Vespasian cured, were not of an incurable nature. And consequently, we are at liberty to think, that the healing them did not exceed the power of the demon.” And, indeed, Popish saints and Heathen demons are much alike. Nor is there any great difference between Heathen and Popish credulity.

I cannot forbear to take notice of one remarkable historie in this (*t*) reign. *Sabinus* (*u*) in Gaul, engaged with some others in a revolt from the Romans, but was soon defeated. He might then have escaped into Germanie. But affection for his wife, the best of women, whom he could not carry with him, led him into another scheme, which he communicated to two only of his freedmen, in whom he could confide. His countrey-house was burnt down, and he was supposed to have perished in the flames. But really he retired into a large subterraneous cavern, which he had near it. It was universally believed, that he had made away with himself. And his wife *Epponnina* abandoned herself to all the excesses of grief, and for three days and three nights refused to take any sustenance. *Sabinus*, hearing of it, and dreading the consequences, sent one of his freedmen to her, to assure her of his life, and to advise her to keep

(*r*) Τὸ μὲν θεῶν τέτοις αὐτὸν ἐσεμνυνεν. Οὐ μέντοι καὶ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἔχαιρον αὐτῶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες ἤχθοντο. κ. λ. *Dio. p.* 1082.

(*s*) *Hist. of the Rom. Emp. Vol.* 6. *p.* 32.

(*t*) See *Tillem. Vespasian. art. vi. et xvii. Crevier's Hist. of the Roman Emperours, Vol. vi. p.* 103. 104.

(*u*) *Fufi Lingones. Sabinus festina-*

tum temere proelium pari formidine deseruit. Utque famam exitii sui faceret, villam, in quam perfugerat, cremavit. Illic voluntaria morte interiisse creditus. Sed quibus artibus latebrisque vitam per novem annos traduxerit, simul amicorum ejus constantiam, in signe Epponninae uxoris exemplum, suo loco reddemus. *Tacit. Hist. 4. cap.* 67.

keep up the appearance of a mourner, still avoiding extremities. Afterwards she had access to him, and bore two children, of which she delivered herself in the cavern. By various artfull pretences and the faithfulness of friends, the truth was kept secret, and Sabinus lay concealed nine years. In which interval there were once some hopes of obtaining the Emperour's pardon, and Epponnina had Sabinus to Rome, so disguised, that none knew him. But being disappointed in those expectations, they returned to the place of their retreat. At (w) length Sabinus was discovered. He, and Epponnina, and their two sons were brought before Vespasian. She behaved with becoming firmness, yet endeavoured to move the Emperour's pity. Presenting her two sons to him: "These, says she, Cesar, I have brought forth, and nursed in the cavern, that I might encrease the number of your supplicants." And, as is said, neither the Emperour himself, nor any others with him, could refrain from tears. However, perceiving, that he did not yield, she then upbraided him, and told him, she had lived more happily in the darkness of a cave, than he upon his throne. Sabinus and his wife were condemned, but the children were spared. Plutarch says, "that (x) thereby Vespasian provoked the vengeance of heaven, and brought upon himself the extinction of his familie. It was, says he, the most tragical action of that reign, a thing which neither gods nor demons could bear the sight of." Indeed, not only he, but Tacitus and Dion, shew a dislike of that action. But we have not Tacitus's conclusion of the storie, he having deferred it to a following book, which is now wanting. It must appear not a little strange, that a General and his wife, should be put to death nine years after a disturbance had been suppressed, and which had no bad consequences. When likewise, of the two miscreant rebels and tyrants at Jerusalem, one only was condemned to death, and the other to perpetual imprisonment. Vespasian did not live long after this. We now proceed in our historie.

N 2

About

(w) *Dio. l. 66. p. 1090.*(x) *Erat. sub fin.*

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About (y) this time the Jews became divided into three parties or factions: the leaders of which were *John*, *Eleazar*, and *Simon*: by whom the city, and every part of it, and the temple itself, were filled with slaughter and bloodshed. This happened, as (z) Josephus expressly says, whilst Titus was with his father at Alexandria: and must therefore be rightly placed by us in the year 69: and perhaps, not far from the end of it. “So, as the same writer says, one faction fought against the other. Which (a) partition in evil cases “may be said to be a good thing, and the effect of divine justice.”

N. B.

Eleazar (b) had the temple, *John* was below him in the city, *Simon* had the upper part of the city. *Simon* (c) had with him ten thousand, beside the Idumeans. His own men had fifty commanders, of which he was supreme. The Idumeans, that joyned with him, were five thousand, and had ten commanders. With *Eleazar* were two thousand and five hundred of the zealots. *John* had six thousand armed men under twenty commanders. But soon after the begining of the siege, these two parties united into one: after which there were but two factions, *John's* and *Simon's*.

“But before that union, whilst they were in three parties, out of spight to each other, as it seems, they set fire (d) to several store-houses, that were full of corn, and other provisions: as if they had done it on purpose to serve the Romans: destroying what would have been sufficient for a siege of many years. So they were taken with the famine. Which could not have been, if they had not by this means brought it upon themselves.” So says our Jewish historian.

Titus

(y) *L. 5. cap. i. §. 1.*

(z) *Ibid.*

(a) ὅπερ ἂν τις ὡς ἐν κακοῖς ἀγαθὸν ἔποι,
καὶ δίκης ἔργον. *Ibid.*

(b) *Ib. §. 2. 3.*

(c) *L. 5. cap. vi. 1. Vid. et cap. iii. 1.*

(d) ... ὑπερπίπρα τὰς δικίας σίτε μεσᾶς,

καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἐπιτηδείων ... κατακαῖναι
δὲ πλὴν ὀλίγων πάντα τὸν σῖτον, ὃς ἂν αὐτοῖς
ἐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγα διήρκεσεν ἢ τι πολιορκούμενοις.
Λιμῶ γ' ἐν ἅλωσαν ὅπερ ἦκιστα δυνατὸν ἦν,
εἰ μὴ τῶν αὐτοῖς προπαρεσκευάσαν. *L. 5.
cap. i. §. 4.*

Titus (e) now leaves Alexandria, and comes to Cefarea, designing to move forward to Jerusalem, and lay siege to it: having with him an armie of about sixty thousand men, Romans and auxiliaries. He (f) pitcheth his camp at the place called Scopus, making however two other encampments at a small distance, one of which was on the mount of Olives. He (g) presented himself before the city about the time of Passover, which was on the fourteenth day of the month of April, in the year of Christ 70. Here he met with difficulties at the first, as the Jews made furious sallies upon his armie. Some of his soldiers were put by them into disorder, and suffered very considerably.

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The (h) city of Jerusalem was surrounded by three walls, excepting in such parts where were deep vallies, which rendred the place inaccessible. There it had but one wall. On (i) the fifteenth day of the siege, which was the seventh day of May, the Romans got possession of the first wall, and demolished a great part of it. Titus (k) then encamped within the city, in a place called *the Assyrians camp*. On (l) the fifth day after that he got possession of the second wall, but was repulsed, and beat out of it again. “Where-
“ upon those Jews, who were armed, and were the fighting men,
“ as our historian says, were much elevated, persuading themselves,
“ that the Romans could never conquer the city. For (m) God had
“ blinded their minds for the transgressions, which they had been
“ guilty of, so that they did not consider the superior force of the
“ Romans, nor discern how the famine was creeping in upon them.
“ For hitherto they had fed themselves out of the public distresses,
“ and drunk the blood of the city. But poverty was now become
“ the lot of many good men, and a great many had already perish-
“ ed

N. B.

(e) *De B. J. l. 4. cap. xi. n. 5. L. 5.*
cap. i. et cap. ii. 1.

(f) *Cap. ii. §. 3.*

(g) *Cap. iii. 1.*

(h) *L. 5. cap. iv.*

(i) . . . *cap. vii. §. 2.*

(k) . . . *ib. §. 3.*

(l) *cap. viii. §. 1. 2.*

(m) Επεσκότει γὰρ αὐτῶν ταῖς γνώμας διὰ
τὰς παρρησίας ὁ Θεός. κ. λ. *ib. §. 2.*

A. D. 76. “ed for want of necessaries. But they supposed the destruction of
 “ the meaner people to be a benefit to them.” However Titus re-
 newed the attack. The Jews defended themselves resolutely for
 three days. But on the fourth day he again became master of that
 wall. And then he demolished all that part, which lay to the north,
 and fortified the south side with towers, and placing soldiers in
 them. And then considered how he might attack the third and in-
 most wall.

Now (*n*) Titus thought fit to relax the siege for a while, in order
 to ease the soldiers, and to pay them subsistence-money, as also to
 see whether the Jews would relent, and make some proposals for
 surrendering, that he might shew them mercie.

Moreover, Josephus (*o*) by order of Titus, took this opportunity,
 to address the Jews in a pathetic discourse: having sought out a place
 to stand in, where he might be heard, and be in safety. In that
 speech he entreats the Jews to save themselves, their temple, and
 their country, and tells them, that they were fighting against God.

“ Moreover, says he, as for Titus, those springs, which were al-
 “ most dried up, when they were in your power, since his coming,
 “ they run more plentifully, than they did before. Accordingly, you
 “ know, that Siloam, as well as all the other springs about the city, did
 “ so far fail, that water was sold in pitchers: whereas they now have
 “ such a quantity for your enemies, as is sufficient for themselves,
 “ and for their cattle, and for watering gardens. The same won-
 “ derfull sign you had experience of formerly, when the afore-
 “ mentioned King of Babylon, made war against us, who took this
 “ city, and burnt the temple: though (*p*) the men of that time, I
 “ believe, were far from being such transgressors, as you are.”

With regard to that particular, the flowing of the springs without
 the city in the time of the King of Babylon, Mr. *Whiston* says in a
 mar-

(*n*) *L. 5. cap. ix. §. 1.*

(*o*) §. 3. 4.

(*p*) . . . ἐδὲν δῖμαι τῶν τότε ἡσεβηκότων

τηλικέτων ἡλίκα ὑμεῖς. *Ib. §. 4. p. 350.*
Haverc.

marginal note upon the place. "The history of this is now wanting elsewhere."

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Four days were spent in that relaxation. On the fifth day, when no offers of peace came from the Jews, Titus began to raise new banks at several places.

"The (q) famine now began to be very severe. And with the
"famine increased also the madness of the seditious, [*as Josephus
"calls them, meaning John and Simon, and the officers under them.*]
"There could no corn appear publicly any where, but those rob-
"bers came running for it. They also searched private houses. If
"they found any corn, they tormented the people, because they had
"denied it. If they found none, they tormented them nevertheless,
"because they supposed, the people had concealed it."

Here (r) Josephus enlargeth upon the miseries of the people, and the great wickedness of their present governors. "But, says he, N. B.
"it is impossible to enumerate every instance of the iniquity of those
"men. But, in a word, never did any city suffer so great calamities.
"Nor was there ever from the beginning of the world any
"time more fruitful of wickedness, than that. . . These were the
"men, who overthrew the city, and compelled the Romans un-
"willingly, to gain a disagreeable victory. They did little less than
"throw fire upon the temple, and seemed to think it came too
"slowly."

"At (s) this time many came out of the city, to seek for food,
"or with a view of making an escape, who were apprehended by
"the Romans, and crucified before the walls. And many of them
"were scourged, before they were crucified. This seemed to Titus
"very grievous. For five hundred Jews were taken in a day, and
"sometimes more. Nevertheless he allowed of it. To dismiss them,
"and let them go off, would not have been safe. Nor could he
"spare men enough to keep guard upon so many. Moreover, he
"hoped,

(q) L. 5. cap. x. §. 1. 2.

(r) cap. x. §. 4. 5.

(s) cap. xi. §. 1.

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“ hoped, that the sight of these miserable objects might dispose them
“ in the city to think of surrendring. The soldiers out of anger, and
“ hatred of the Jews, hung them upon the crosses, some one way,
“ some another, as it were in jest. And so great was the number,
“ that room was wanting for crosses, and crosses were wanting for
“ bodies.”

“ Now (1) also Titus ordered the hands of some of them, who
“ had come out of the city to be cut off. And then he sent them
“ back, to let the people within the city know, that henceforward
“ he should carry on the siege with vigour : however still wishing
“ them to repent, and not compell him to destroy their city, and
“ their admired temple. But they who stood upon the wall return-
“ ed reproaches upon him, and upon his father Vespasian, telling
“ him, that death was better than slavery, and that so long as they
“ had breath, they would do the Romans all the harm, they could.
“ As for the temple, they believed it would be preserved by him
“ who inhabited it. Having him for their helper, they despised all
“ his threatenings. For the event depended upon God only.”

The (u) Romans were employed in raising batteries. But though
they had begun to raise them on the 12. day of May, they had much
ado to finish them by the 29. day of the same month, after having
labored hard for seventeen days successively. In which time, how-
ever, four batteries were completed.

But John found means to undermine them, so that they fell down
all at once, causing great confusion among the Romans. And after
that Simon and his men made a furious sally upon the Romans.

The Roman armie was greatly discouraged, to see their batteries
ruined in one hour, which had cost them so much labour. And
many despaired, thinking it impossible to take the city with the usu-
al engines of war.

Titus

(1) *Ib.* §. 5.

(u) §. 4.

Titus (x) consulted with his officers what might be fit to be done. At length it was determined to encompass the city with a wall, Which was completed in three days, with towers at proper distances, to place soldiers in as garrisons.

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Our blessed Lord says, Luke xix. 43. *For the days will come upon thee, that thy enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side.* Some think, that this prophecy was now particularly fulfilled in the building of the wall, here mentioned by Josephus. Others may suppose, that it had it's accomplishment, when the Romans laid siege to the city of Jerusalem, and encompassed it with an armie.

“ The (y) famine now encreasing, it devoured whole houses. For
“ a while, they who had no relations to take care of them, were
“ buried at the public expence. Afterwards the dead were thrown
“ over the wall into the ditch.

“ When (z) Titus, in going his rounds, near the valleys, below
“ the walls, saw the dead bodies, and the putrefaction issuing from
“ them, he fetched a deep sigh, and lifting up his hands to heaven;
“ called God to witnesse, that this was not his doing.” However,
he proposed erecting new platforms: which was a difficult work,
as all the timber near the city was already consumed, and it was now
to be fetched from a great distance.

N. B.

In the next chapter (a) Josephus relates the death of *Matthias*, son of *Beëthas*, one of the High-Priests, and several other persons of eminence, and divers others, who were slaughtered by order of Simon in a most shamefull manner. *Matthias* was the person, who had advised the admitting of Simon into the city, contrarie to the inclinations of many others. *Matthias* had four sons, one of which had saved himself by getting away to Titus. The other three were all put to death together with their father: but with this express

(x) cap. xii. §. 1. 2.

(z) §. 4.

(y) §. 3.

(a) cap. xiii. §. 1.

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order from Simon, that the sons should be first slain before the eyes of their father. Nor was burial allowed to them. The execution was committed by Simon to *Ananus*, son of *Bamadus*, the most barbarous man of his guards. After them were slain *Ananias* a Priest, and *Aristeas*, scribe of the Sanhedrim, and fifteen other men of eminence among the people. They also slew such as made lamentation for these persons, without farther examination.

" Many (*b*) did still find means to get out of the city. Some leaped down from the wall. Others went out of the city with stones in their hands, as if they were going to fight with the Romans. But most of them died miserably. Some perished by excessive eating upon empty stomachs. Moreover some of them had swallowed gold, and were detected afterwards in searching for it in their excrements. This having been observed in a few instances excited the avarice of the soldiers, who concluded that all the deserters were full of gold. They therefore cut up their bellies, and searched their entrails. In this way, as Josephus says, there perished two thousand in one night. Nor does it seem to me, that any miserie befell the Jews more terrible than this."

" When Titus heard of it, he was greatly displeased, especially when he found, that not only the *Syrians* and *Arabians* had practised this cruelty, but the *Romans* likewise. He therefore gave orders, that all who for the future acted in that manner should be put to death. But the love of money prevailed against the dread of punishment. And indeed it was God who had condemned the whole nation, and defeated every method taken for their preservation."

N. B.

About (*c*) this time John melted down many of the sacred utensils, in the temple, to make use of them as instruments of war. He also distributed the sacred wine and oyl for common use to persons, who

(*b*) §. 4. 5.

(*c*) §. 6.

who in drinking, and anointing themselves, wasted them in a profuse manner.

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“ But (*d*) why do I stay to relate particularly these several calamities? For at this time *Mannaëus*, son of *Lazarus*, fled out of the city, and came to *Titus*, and told him, that through the one gate, which had been entrusted to his care, there had been carried out no fewer than a hundred and fifteen thousand eight hundred and eighty dead bodies, from the day that the Romans encamped near the city, the fourteenth day of the month of April to the first day of July. That was a prodigious number. The man was not a governour at the gate. But he was appointed to pay the public allowance for carrying the bodies out. And therefore was obliged to number them. Others were buried by their relations: though their burial was no other than to bring them, and cast them out of the city. After that man there came to *Titus* several other deserters of good condition, who told him, that the whole number of the poor, who had been thrown out at the gates was not less than six hundred thousand. The number of the rest could not be exactly known. They farther told him, that when they were no longer able to carry out the dead bodies of the poor, they laid them in heaps in large houses, and then shut them up. They likewise said, that a measure of wheat had been sold for a talent. And that afterwards, when it had been impossible to come out to gather herbs, because the city was encompassed with a wall, some were driven to such distresse, as to search the common shores and old dunghills of cattle, and to eat the dung which they found there: and that what they could not before endure to see, they now made use of for food. When the Romans heard of these things, they commiserated their case. But the seditious, who saw them, did not repent, till the same distresse reached

O 2

them-

- A. D. "themselves. For (*e*) they were blinded by that fate, which was
 76.
 N. B. "coming upon the city and themselves."

There ends the fifth book of our Author's historie of the Jewish War. The sixth book contains the progresse of the siege, and the miseries of the people, till the city was taken by Titus.

The (*f*) Roman batteries are now raised at the end of one and twenty days hard labour, and the miseries of the city encrease. The Romans begin to batter upon the walls of the tower called *Antonia*. The Jews make a vigorous defense. But the Romans gained possession of it about the middle of July.

- "Titus (*g*) thereupon ordered his soldiers to dig up the foundations of the tower Antonia, to make way for him to come up
 "with his whole armie. And being informed, that on that very
 "day, the seventeenth of July, the daily sacrifice had failed, and
 "that it had not been offered up for want of men, and that the
 "people were greatly concerned at it, he sent for Josephus, and
 "commanded him to say to John the same things that had been said
 "before. Accordingly Josephus sought for a proper place to stand
 "in, and in the name of Titus himself, earnestly exhorted John,
 N. B. "and those that were with him, to spare their own countrey, and to
 "prevent that fire which was ready to seize upon the temple, and
 "to offer to God therein their usual sacrifices." But John cast many reproaches upon Josephus, with imprecations, adding withall,
 "that (*b*) he did not fear the city should ever be taken, which was
 "God's own city: After which Josephus went on with a pathetic
 "speech. Which though it did not persuade John, and his adherents, was not altogether without effect."

And (*i*) some watching for an opportunity, fled to the Romans.

Of

(*c*) Πεπλήροίτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶ χριῶν, ὃ τῆτε
 πίλει καὶ αὐτοῖς ἡδὴ παρῆν.

(*f*) *L. 6. cap. i. §. 1. . . . 8.*

(*g*) *cap. ii. §. 1.*

(*b*) . . . ὅς ἐκ ἀνποτε δέχεται ἄλυσιν, Θεῷ
 γὰρ ὑπάσχειν τὴν πόλιν.

(*i*) *Ibid. cap. ii. §. 2.*

Of whom were the High-Priests *Joseph*, and *Jesus*, and of sons of High-Priests three, and four sons of *Matthias*, as well as one son of the other *Matthias*, formerly mentioned, who with three of his sons had been killed by order of Simon, son of Gioras. And many others of the nobility. All whom Titus received very kindly, and sent them to *Gophna*, a small city, where they might live quietly, following their own customs. Which offer they chearfully accepted. But as they did not appear, the seditious within the city gave out, that those men had been slain by the Romans. It was in vain therefore, they said, for any to go over to the Romans, unless they were willing to be put to death.

Titus (*k*) therefore sent for those men from *Gophna*, and let them go round near the wall, with *Josephus*, to assure people, that they might come over to him with safety.

If all this be true, as *Josephus* writes, it is a proof of the good temper of Titus. Moreover, the Romans were now pushing their conquests upon the Temple itself, which Titus seems unwilling to have destroyed.

“ And (*l*) as *Josephus* adds, Titus was much affected with the
 “ present state of things, and reproached John and those with him.
 “ Reminding them of the regard, which had been shewn to the tem-
 “ ple by the Romans, who had allowed them to erect in the courts
 “ of it a partition wall, with inscriptions in Greek, forbidding all
 “ foreigners to enter within those limits, and allowing them to kill
 “ such as did so, though they were Romans. I call to witnesse, says N. B.
 “ he, the Gods of the countrey, and every God, who ever had a
 “ regard to this place: (for I do not now suppose it to be regarded by
 “ any of them :) I also call to witnesse my own armie, and the Jews
 “ who are with me, and your own selves, that I do not compell you
 “ to pollute your sanctuarie. And if you will change the place of
 “ combat, no Roman shall come near it. For I will endeavour to
 “ preserve your temple, whether you will or not.”

Such

(*k*) *Ib.* §. 3.

(*l*) §. 4.

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Such (*m*) things were spoken by Titus, and by Josephus after him in Hebrew, to John and the rest with him. But they perverted it, as if all these fine offers proceeded from fearfulness, and not from any good will to them.

Titus (*n*) therefore proceeded in his attacks. His soldiers fought with the Jews at the temple, whilst he continued on the higher ground in Antonia, to observe their conduct.

They (*o*) had now made a broad way from the tower Antonia to the Temple, and began to play on the temple with their battering engines.

The (*p*) fight was very desperate. A cloyster near Antonia was set on fire. On the 24. day of July the Romans set fire to another cloyster, when the fire proceeded fifteen cubits farther.

“ Whilst (*q*) the Jews and Romans were thus fighting at the temple, the famine prevailed in the city, till at length, they did not abstain from girdles and shoes. The very leather that belonged to shields, they took off, and gnawed. Wives of old straw became food to them.”

At (*r*) this time, a woman named *Marie*, of a good familie, beyond Jordan, who had fled from her native place to Jerusalem, to avoid the inconveniences of the war in the open countrey, when all she had brought with her was consumed, or taken from her by the rapaciousness of the tyrants, and their adherents, was reduced to such extremity, that she killed her sucking child, and dressed it for food.

On (*s*) the eighth day of the month of August the Roman batteries were compleated, and Titus ordered the batteries to play upon the Temple. The battle between the Jews and Romans was very desperate.

“ Titus

(*m*) §. 5.

(*n*) §. 5. 6.

(*o*) §. 7.

(*p*) §. 8. 9.

(*q*) cap. iii. §. 3.

(*r*) §. 4.

(*s*) cap. iv. §. 1.

“ Titus (*t*) retired to the tower of Antonia. And resolved the
 “ next day early in the morning to storm the temple with his whole
 “ armie, and to encamp about it. But certainly the divine sentence
 “ had long since condemned it to the fire. And now the fatal day
 “ was come, according to the revolution of ages. It was the tenth
 “ day of the month August, the same day, upon which it had been
 “ formerly burnt by the King of Babylon.”

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N. B.

“ The (*u*) temple was now on fire. Nevertheless Titus still de-
 “ sirus to save it, if possible, came near, and went into the sanctua-
 “ rie of the temple with his commanders, and saw it, with what
 “ was in it. Which he found to be far superior to the accounts of
 “ foreigners, and not inferior to our boastings and persuation con-
 “ cerning it.”

As (*x*) the fire had not yet reached the inner parts of the temple,
 Titus gave fresh orders for extinguishing the fire, and preserving
 the temple. But to no purpose. Such was the enmity of the soldiers
 against the Jews, filled also with the hopes of plunder, and now a-
 nimated with the rage of war.

“ Nor (*y*) can we forbear to wonder at the accuracie of the period.
 “ For this happened, as before said, in the same month, and day of
 “ the month, in which the temple had been burnt by the Babylon-
 “ ans. And the number of years from it's first foundation by King
 “ Solomon, to this it's destruction in the second year of Vespasian,
 “ are collected to be one thousand and thirty, and seven months, and
 “ fifteen days. And from it's second building by Haggai in the se-
 “ cond year of King Cyrus, to it's destruction by Vespasian, there
 “ were six hundred, and thirty nine years, and forty five days.”

Whilst (*z*) the temple was burning, every thing was plundered
 that came to hand, and ten thousand of those who were caught, were
 slain. Nor was there any regard had to age, or condition. But chil-
 dren

(*t*) §. 5.(*u*) §. 7.(*x*) *Ibid.*(*y*) §. 8.(*z*) *cap. v. §. 1.*

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“ At (a) this time the treasure-chambers were burnt, where was
 “ an immense quantity of money, and an immense number of gar-
 “ ments, with other precious things. For there it was, that the
 “ riches of the Jews were heaped up. . . The soldiers also came to
 “ the rest of the cloysters in the outer court, where were women, and
 “ children, and a mixed multitude of people, to the number of six
 “ thousand. And before Cesar had given any orders about it, the
 “ soldiers in a rage set fire to the cloyster. Nor did any one of that
 “ multitude escape with his life. A false-prophet was the occasion
 “ of their destruction. Who that very day had made proclamation
 “ in the city, that God commanded them to go up to the temple,
 “ where they would receive signs of deliverance. And indeed there
 “ was then a great number of false-prophets suborned by the leaders
 “ of the factions to impose upon the people, who told them, that they
 “ should wait for deliverance from God.”

N. B. “ Thus (b) as our Author goes on, in the words next following,
 “ was this miserable people deceived by impostors, who spoke lies in
 “ the name of God. But they did not attend, nor give credit to
 “ those prodigies, which evidently foretold their future desolation.
 “ But like men infatuated, who have neither eyes to see, nor minds
 “ to consider, they disregarded the divine denunciations. There (c)
 “ was a star, a comet, resembling a sword, which stood over the ci-
 “ ty, and continued for a year. And before the rebellion, and be-
 “ fore the war broke out, when the people were come together in
 “ great

(a) §. 2.

(b) *ib.* §. 3.

(c) Τὸτο μὲν ὅτε ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄστρον ἔστι
 ῥαυρῶσα παραπλήσιον, καὶ παρατίννας ἐπὶ ἐ-
 νιαυτὸν κομήτης.

Mr. Whiston's translation is: *Thus there
 was a star, resembling a sword, which stood
 over the city: and a comet that continued a*

whole year. And he has a note to this purpose. “ Whether Josephus means, that this star was different from that comet, which lasted a whole year, I cannot certainly determine. His words most favor their being different one from another.”

“ great multitudes, to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth
“ day of the month of April, at the ninth hour of the night, so
“ great a light shone round the altar, and the temple, that it seemed
“ to be bright day. Which light continued for half an hour. This
“ to the unskilfull seemed to be a good sign : but by the sacred scribes
“ it was judged to portend what has since happened. And at the
“ same festival a heifer, as she was led by the High-Priest to be sacri-
“ ficed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple. More-
“ over the eastern gate of the inner court of the temple, which was
“ of brasse, and very heavie, which was not without difficulty shut
“ in the evening by twenty men, and rested upon a basis armed with
“ iron, and was fastened with bolts that went deep into the floor,
“ which was made of one entire stone, was seen to open of it's own
“ accord at the sixth hour of the night. Whereupon they who kept
“ watch at the temple, went to the captain, and told him of it. He
“ then came up thither, and not without difficulty had it shut again.
“ This also appeared to the vulgar a good sign : as if thereby God
“ thereby opened to them the gate of happinesse. But the wiser
“ men concluded, that the security of the temple was gone, and that
“ the gate was opened for the advantage of their enemies. And they
“ said, it was a signal of the desolation that was coming upon them.
“ Beside these, a few days after that festival, on the one and twenti-
“ eth day of the month of May, there appeared a wonderfull pheno-
“ menon almost exceeding belief. And the account of it might seem
“ fabulous, if it had not been related by those who saw it, and if the
“ following events had not been answerable to such signs. For be-
“ fore sun-set chariots and troops in armour were seen carried upon
“ the clouds, and surrounding cities. And at the festival, which
“ we call the Pentecost, as the priests were going by night into the
“ inner court of the temple, as the custom was, to perform their mi-
“ nistrations, they first felt, as they said, a shaking, accompanied
“ with a noise, and after that a sound, as of a multitude, saying :
“ Let us remove hence. But, which is still more awfull, there was

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“ one *Jesus*, son of *Ananus*, of a low condition, and a countreyman,
 “ who four years before the war began, when the city enjoyed pro-
 “ found peace, and flowing prosperity, came up to the festival, in
 “ which it is the custom for us all to make tabernacles, who on a
 “ sudden began to cry out in the temple: *A voice from the east, a*
 “ *voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Je-*
 “ *rusalem, and the temple, a voice against the bridegrooms and the*
 “ *brides, a voice against the whole people.* This was his cry, as he
 “ went about, both by day and by night, in all the lanes of the city.
 “ Some of the chief men were offended at this ill-boding sound, and
 “ taking him up, laid many stripes upon him, and had him beaten se-
 “ verely. Yet he said not a word for himself, nor made any pecu-
 “ liar complaint to them that beat him : but went on repeating the
 “ same words that he had said before. Hereupon the magistrates,
 “ thinking it to be somewhat more than ordinarie, as indeed it was,
 “ bring him before the Roman Governour : where he was whipped,
 “ till his bones were laid bare. All which he bore, without shed-
 “ ding any tears, or making any supplications. But with a mourn-
 “ full voice, at every stripe, cried out : *Woe to Jerusalem.* Albinus,
 “ the Governour, asked him, Who he was, and whence he came,
 “ and why he uttered those words. To all which he made no an-
 “ swer, but continued making his mournfull denunciations to the
 “ city. Albinus, thinking him to be mad, dismissed him. And
 “ thence forward, to the time of the war, he did not go to any of the
 “ citizens : nor was he seen speaking to any : but only went on
 “ with his mournfull denunciation, as if it had been his premedita-
 “ ted vow : *Woe, woe to Jerusalem.* He did not give ill language to
 “ those who beat him, as many did frequently. Nor did he thank
 “ those, who gave him food : but went on repeating to all the dole-
 “ full presage. But especially at festivals his cry was the loudest.
 “ And so it continued for seven years and five months, without his
 “ growing hoarse, or being tired therewith, till he saw his presage
 “ fulfilled in the siege. Then he ceased. For going round upon
 “ the

“ the wall, with his utmost force he cried out : *Woe, woe, once more,*
 “ *to the city, and to the people, and to the temple.* And then at last
 “ he added : *Woe, woe to my-self also.* At which instant, there came
 “ a stone out of one of the engines, that smote him, and killed him
 “ immediatly. And whilst he was uttering these mournfull prefa-
 “ ges, he gave up the ghost.”

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“ If (*d*) any one considers these things, adds Josephus, he will
 “ be convinced, that God takes care of mankind, and by all ways
 “ possible foreshews to our race what is for their benefit : and that
 “ men perish by those miseries, which they madly and voluntarily
 “ bring upon themselves.”

Thus I have transcribed this whole article of Josephus at length,
 and in the place and order, in which it stands in his own work.
 I must be so candid as to take notice of the reflexions, which some
 learned men have made upon it.

To this purpose speaks Dr. *Willes*, in his first (*e*) discourse upon
 Josephus : “ The prodigies, that he saith happened before the de-
 “ struction of Jerusalem, would agree better to Livy or Tacitus,
 “ than to a Jewish historian. . . . The flying open of the great brazen
 “ gate of the temple, is the same as happened at Thebes just before
 “ the great battle of the Lacedemonians at Leuctra, when the great
 “ gates of the temple of Hercules opened of themselves, without any
 “ one’s touching them. I omit many other things of the like na-
 “ ture : whence it is evident, that Josephus endeavored to Grecise
 “ and shape the historie of the Jews, as like as he could to those of
 “ the Greeks and Romans.” So Dr. *Willes*. And I shall transcribe
 below the passage of *Cicero de Divinatione*, (*f*) to which he re-
 fers.

P 2

Bas-

(*d*) §. 4.

(*e*) *Prefixed to L’estrangé’s edition of Josephus*, p. 3. 4. 8vo.

(*f*) Quid ? Lacedaemoniis paullo ante

Leuëtricam calamitatem, quæ significatio
 facta est, cum in Herculis fano arma so-
 nuerunt, Herculisque simulachrum multo
 sudore manavit ? At eodem tempore The-
 bis,

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Basnage (g) in his Historie of the Jews speaks after this manner.
 “ Besides, deception was easie in many of the things related by him.
 “ The bright light round the altar in the night-time: the cow that
 “ brought forth a lamb, as she was led to the altar: the chariots of
 “ fire that were seen in the air, and passed over the city with a
 “ frightfull noise are very liable to suspicion: The opening of the
 “ temple seems to be rather better attested than the others, because it is
 “ said, that the magistrate came to shut it. But the meaning was
 “ doubtfull. To some it seemed to be an assurance, that God had
 “ opened the treasures of his benediction: whilst others concluded,
 “ that he had abandoned the protection of his temple. But it is
 “ not easie to deny the truth of the historie of the man, that cried,
 “ *A voice from the East, a voice from the West*, and every day pre-
 “ dicted the ruin of the city. For this man was brought before Al-
 “ binus, who examined him. He was severely scourged, and he
 “ was often beaten by the people, who could not endure so dismal a
 “ noise, but he was all along unmoved. His cry continued for the
 “ space of seven years. At length he was killed upon the walls of
 “ the city, at the begining of the siege. This is not a thing, about
 “ which men might be deceived. Josephus, who relates it, was at
 “ Jerusalem, when this preacher, who was treated as a mad man,
 “ denounced it's desolation. And he might inform himself con-
 “ cerning his death. So that, if there are any things, to which we
 “ ought to attend, it is this, in which we must acknowledge some-
 “ what extraordinarie.” So says *Basnage*.

I am inclined to go over, and examine every one of these pro-
 digies.

*There (h) was a star, a comet, resembling a sword, which stood
 over the city, and continued for a year.*

How

bis, ut ait Callisthenes, in templo Hercu-
 lis valvae clausae repagulis, subito se ip-
 sae aperuerunt: armaque, quae fixa in
 parietibus fuerant, ea sunt humi inventa.
De Divin. l. I. cap. 24. n. 74.

(g) *L. i. ch. viii. §. 3. p. 224.*

(h) Τὸτο μὲν ὅτε ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ὄσσειν ἔσκη
 ῥομφαία παραπλήσιον, καὶ παρατένας ἐπ' ἐνι-
 αὐτὴν κομήτης.

How Mr. *Whiston* understood this, has been seen already. *L'Estrange* translates thus: *What shall we say to the comet, that hung over Jerusalem, for one whole year together, in the figure of a sword?* Archbp. *Tillotson* (*i*) in this manner. *A little before their destruction, he tells us, there hung over their city a fiery sword, which continued for a year together. A little before their rebellion against the Romans, there appeared a comet, which shined so clear in the temple, and about the altar, as if it had been day. It must be confessed, that is not exact. Tillemont: There (k) was also a comet which appeared for a year, and over Jerusalem an extraordinarie star, which seemed to be a sword. But Josephus does not say the time. Neither is this very exact. However, I have also transcribed below the words of Josephus himself.*

This is the first prodigie. And indeed it is a wonderfull, and very awfull thing. A star, resembling a sword, hanging over a city, for a whole year. . . Upon this we cannot forbear to observe, that Josephus has not told us the time, when this star, or comet appeared. He says, *it continued for a year.* But does not say when. A very strange omission. I must take the liberty, to add, that, if about the time of the siege of Jerusalem, or some period, within a few years before; there had been a star, resembling a sword, which hung over that city for a year together: I should expect to find it in some author, beside Josephus, and an author, that does not depend upon him, or borrow from him.

Tacitus (*l*) has mentioned several of the prodigies preceding the
ruin

(i) *As before. p. 554.*

(k) Il parut aussi une comete pendant un an, et sur Jerusalem un astre extraordinaire, qui sembloit être une épée. Joseph n'en marque pas le temps. *Ruine des Juifs. art. 41.*

(l) Evenerunt prodigia, quæ neque hostiis, neque votis piare fas habet gens

superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa. Visæ per coelum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum. Expassæ repentetempli fores, et audita major humanâ vox, *Excedere Deos: simul ingens motus excedentium.* *Tacit. Hist. l. 5. cap. 13.*

A. D. 76. ruin of the Jewish people. But he does not mention this. However, it must be owned, that his omitting it is of no great importance, as he does not appear to have been carefull to put down every thing of this kind.

2. It follows. *And before the rebellion, and before the war broke out, when the people were come together in great multitudes to the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth day of the month of April at the ninth hour of the night, [or three hours after midnight,] so great a light shone round the altar, and the temple, that it seemed to be bright day. Which light continued for half an hour.* This prodigie is related by Josephus, so particularly, and circumstantially, as happening too at the time of Passover, when Jerusalem was full of people, and in the year 65. as it seems, that I am not at all disposed to contest the truth of it. I think it must have so happened. But the design of this appearance is ambiguous. And, as Josephus says, some thought it to portend good, others bad things. But that does not affect the truth of the fact.

3. *And at the same festival, a beifer, as she was led by the High-Priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple.* Here again, I hesitate. I am surprized to see so trifling a storie in a grave writer. I think, Josephus inserted this to gratify his Greek readers.

4. The next prodigie is the opening of the *eastern gate of the inner court of the temple at midnight*: which, as before observed by Dr. Willes, has such a resemblance with like stories, told by credulous heathen people, that it seems to be only an imitation of them, and has therefore the appearance of a fiction, by way of accommodation to the judgement of Heathen readers.

5. *Beside these, a few days after that festival, on the one and twentieth day of the month of May there appeared a wonderful phenomenon, almost exceeding belief. And the account of it might seem fabulous, if it had not been related by those who saw it, and if the following events had not been answerable to such signs. For before sun-set, chariots and troops*

troops of soldiers in armour, were seen carried upon the clouds, and surrounding cities.

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Such seeming appearances have often been the effect only of imagination, without any reality. But this is related by Josephus so particularly, and with so much solemnity, that it is hard to contest the truth. And if it be true, this, and the *light surrounding the altar and the temple*, before mentioned, may be some of those things intended by our Saviour, when he said: *And fearfull sights, and great signs shall there be from heaven.* Luke xxi. 11. Of this (m) Crevier speaks in this manner. "I say nothing of the armed chariots and troops of warriors, that were seen fighting in the air. That might be the natural effect of a phenomenon, then not understood, but which we are now well acquainted with, and call the *Aurora Borealis*, or northern light." A wise observation truly! Who ever before saw, or heard of an *Aurora borealis* in the day time? Josephus expressly says, that these chariots and warriors were seen *before sun-setting*.

6. *And at the festival, which we call the Pentecost, as the Priests were going by night into the inner court of the temple, as the custom was, to perform their ministrations, they first felt, as they said, a shaking, accompanied with a noise, and then a sound, as of a multitude, saying, Let us remove hence.*

This passage is quoted by (n) Eusebius, and this particular is taken notice of by (o) divers ancient Christian writers. But they do not always quote so accurately, as might be wished.

I beg

(m) *History of the Rom. Emp.* vol. vi. p. 240.

(n) *H. E.* l. 3. cap. viii. et *Dem. Ev.* l. 8. p. 402. And see the *Credib.* vol. 8. p. 60.

(o) Καὶ Ἰάσηπος δὲ μετὰ βραχὺν γενόμενος χρόνον, ἔφη, τινὰς ἀγγέλους τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὄντων, εἰ μὴ βεληθεῖν ἐκείνοι μετασῆ-

ναι, καταλιπεῖν αὐτούς. *Chr. in Jo. Hom.* 64. al. 65. p. 390. T. 8.

Josephus quoque refert, virtutes angelicas, praesides quondam templi, tunc pariter conclamasse: Transimus ex his sedibus. *Hieron. in Matt.* xxvii. 51. T. 4. p. 139. *Conf. ep. ad Hieib.* §. viii. T. 4. P. i. p. 176.

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I beg leave to observe upon it, *first of all*, this is said to have happened in the *night-time*, and therefore deserves the less regard. *Secondly*, I do not know what ministrations the Priests had to perform in the inner temple, in the night. Doubtless they kept watch at the temple by night as well as by day. But, so far as I can recollect, the ministrations at the temple, which were of divine appointment, were performed by day-light. *Thirdly, the sound of a multitude, saying, Let us go hence*, has much of an Heathenish air.

All these signs, or prodigies, just mentioned, (excepting *the star like a sword*, of which before,) seem to be placed by Josephus in the year of Christ 65. the year before the war commenced.

7. The seventh and last is that of *Jesus, son of Ananias, who four years before the war began, came up to the festival, which we call the Feast of Tabernacles, and on a sudden began to cry out: A voice from the East . . . a voice against Jerusalem and the temple. . . And so it continued for seven years and five months, till he saw his presage fulfilled in the siege.* He therefore began this cry near the end of the year 62. This last Josephus calls *more awful than the rest*, τὸ δὲ τέττον Φοβερώτατον. And as Le Clerc (*p*) observes, "if it be true, Josephus rightly says, it was somewhat divine." I hope, we may depend upon the truth of this historie, which is related with so many particulars and circumstances.

All these things Josephus has recorded, as affecting signs, warnings, and presages of great calamities coming upon the Jewish nation: omitting, entirely, the warnings, and predictions, and admonitions of Jesus Christ, and of his Apostles after him, and also the three-hours darknesse over the whole land of Judea, and the rend-
ing

Unde et Josephus in sua narrat historia, quod postquam Dominus crucifixus est, et velum templi scissum est, sive liminare templi fractum corruit, audita sit vox in adytis Templi Virtutum coelestium, Tran-

seamus ex his sedibus. *Id. in Ezech. cap. 47. p. 1058.*

(*p*) Quae si vera sunt, non immerito Josephus rem divinitus contigisse censuit. *Cleric. H. E. An, 62. n. v.*

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ing the veil of the temple, and the earthquake near Jerusalem, at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion. And though all these signs and warnings related by himself, are considered by him as very affecting, he acknowledgeth, that they made not any great impression upon his nation. And says: *But they did not attend, or give credit to those prodigies, which evidently foretold their desolation. But like men infatuated, who have neither eyes to see, nor minds to consider, they disregarded the divine denunciations.* And his historie verifies the truth and justnesse of this observation.

“ Now (*q*) the Romans brought their ensigns to the temple, and “ set them over against the eastern gate. There they offered sacrifices to them, and there they made Titus Emperour, with the greatest acclamations of joy. And all the soldiers had such vast quantities of spoils, which they got by plunder, that in Syria a pound “ weight of gold was sold for half it's former value.”

There (*r*) were some priests as Josephus says, sitting upon the wall of the temple, who continued there, till they were pined with hunger. Then they came down, and surrendered themselves. When they were brought by the guards to Titus, they begged for their lives. But Titus answered: That the time of pardon was over, as to them, that being destroyed, for the sake of which alone he should have saved them: And that it was very fit, that priests should perish with their temple. Whereupon he ordered them to be put to death.

Now (*s*) *Simon* and *John*, and they that were with them, desire a conference with Titus. Which he granted. He placed himself on the western side of the outer court of the temple, and there was a bridge, that parted them. There were great numbers of Jews waiting with those two tyrants, and there were also many Romans on the side of Titus. He ordered the soldiers to refrain their rage, and

Q appointed

(*q*) *L. 6. cap. vi. §. 1.*

(*r*) *Ibid.*

(*s*) §. 2.

A. D. appointed an interpreter. And being conquerour, he spoke first.
76. He then reproached them in very bitter terms, and very justly. And then concluded. However, I will not imitate your madnesse. “If
“ you will throw down your arms, and deliver up your bodies to
“ me, I grant you your lives. I will act like a mild father of a fa-
“ milie. What cannot be healed shall be destroyed. The rest I
“ will reserve for my own use.”

“ They answered, they could not consent to that, because they
“ had sworn never to do it. They asked leave to go through the
“ wall that surrounded them, with their wives and children. So
“ they would go into the desert, and leave the city to him. At which
“ Titus was greatly provoked, that when they were now already in
“ the case of men taken captives, they should pretend to make their
“ own terms with him, as if they were conquerours. He then gave
“ orders, that proclamation should be made to them, that hencefor-
“ ward none should be allowed to come over to him, as deserters,
“ nor hope for security. For that now he would spare no body,
“ but fight them with his whole armie. He therefore gave orders
“ to the soldiers both to burn and to plunder the city. On that day
“ however they did nothing. But the day following they set fire to
“ the repositorie of the archives, to the council-houses, to *Acra*,
“ and to the place called *Ophilas*: at which time the fire proceeded
“ as far as to the palace of *Queen Helena*, which was in the mid-
“ dle of *Acra*. The lanes also were burnt down, as were all the
“ houses that were full of the dead bodies of such as had died by
“ the famine.”

“ On (*t*) the same day the sons and brothers of King *Izates*,
“ and (*u*) with them many other eminent men, of the city, got
“ together, and besought Titus to give them his right hand for their
“ security. Whereupon, though he was now very angrie, and much
“ dif-

(*t*) §. 4.

(*u*) ... πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐπισήμων ὄντων

μοτῶν ἐκείνους συνελθόντες, ἐκέλευσαν Κάισαρα,

κ. λ.

“ displeased with all who were still remaining, he did not depart from
 “ his wonted moderation, but received them. However, he kept
 “ them all in custodie. And having bound the King’s sons and kinf-
 “ men, he took them with him to Rome, to be kept there as hos-
 “ tages for the fidelity of their countrey.”

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Here, as I apprehend, we see a proof of the zeal of the Jewish profelytes at this time. For such were the relations of King *Izates*. These persons had chosen to reside much in the holy city of Jerusalem. Or they had come up thither to the feast of the Passover this year, notwithstanding the danger it was in from the approaches of the Roman armie. And it was, as seems to me, a remarkable instance of the moderation of this Prince, that he now shewed mercie to these persons, who might have come over to him long before, and did not surrender themselves till matters were brought to the utmost extremity, and after he had publicly declared, that he would spare none.

Titus (x) still had difficulties remaining in taking the rest of the city.

“ Some (y) there were who deserted to Titus, notwithstanding the care of the tyrants to prevent it. These were all received by the Romans, because Titus grew negligent as to his former orders, and because the soldiers were wearie of killing, and because they hoped to gain money by sparing them. They therefore sold them with their wives and children, though at a very low price. For there were many to be sold, and but a few purchasers. Indeed the number of those who were sold was prodigious. And (z) yet there were forty thousand of the people saved, whom Titus permitted to go where they pleased.”

Q 2

And

(x) *Cap. vii. et viii.*

(y) *Cap. viii. §. 2.*

(z) *Οἱ δημοτικὸι δὲ διεσώθησαν ὑπὲρ τε:*

τρακισμυρίας, ὅς διαφῆκε Καῖσαρ, ἢ φίλον ἦν ἐ-
κείνῳ. *Ibid.*

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And now were fulfilled those words of Moses. *And ye shall be sold for bond-men, and bond-women. And no man shall buy you.* Deut. xxviii. 68. And likewise those words of our Lord, Luke xxi. 24. *And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations. And Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentils, untill the times of the Gentils be fulfilled.*

“ At (a) this time one of the priests, son of *Thebuthus*, whose name was *Joskua*, upon his having security given him by the oath of Cesar, that he should be preserved, upon condition that he should deliver to him certain of the precious things, deposited in the temple, came out, and delivered to him from the wall of the temple two candlesticks, like to those that lay in the temple, together with tables, and cisterns, and vials, all of solid gold, and very heavy. He also delivered to him the veils, and the garments of the High-Priests, with the precious stones, and many other vessels belonging to the sacred ministrations. And now was seized the treasurer of the temple, whose name was *Phineas*, who discovered to him the coats and girdles of the priests, with a great quantity of purple and scarlet, which were repositied for the use of the veil: as also a great deal of cinnamon and cassia, and other sweet spices, which used to be mixed, and offered to God as incense, every day. A great many other precious things and ornaments of the temple were delivered by the same person. Which things so delivered to Titus, obtained for that man the same pardon that was allowed to such as deserted of their own accord.”

“ At (b) length after great labour, and against a furious opposition, the Romans became masters of the rest of the city, and set their ensigns upon the walls in triumph, and with great joy. They then plundered the houses, and killed every one whom they met with in the streets. They set fire to the city, and made the streets run with blood, to such a degree, that the fire of many houses
“ was

(a) viii. §. 3.

(b) §. 4. 5.

“ was quenched with mens blood. However it so happened, that when
 “ the slayers had left off in the evening, the fire greatly prevailed
 “ in the night. As all was burning, came on to Jerusalem the eighth
 “ day of the month of September, a city, which had suffered so
 “ many calamities during the siege, of which it was upon no other
 “ account so deserving, as upon account of it's producing such a
 “ generation of men, as occasioned it's overthrow.

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“ When (c) Titus was come into this upper city, he admired
 “ some places of strength in it, and particularly those strong tow-
 “ ers, which the tyrants in their madnesse had relinquished. And
 “ he expressed himself in the following manner. We (d) have cer-
 “ tainly had God for our helper in this war. It is God, who has
 “ ejected the Jews out of these fortifications. For what could the
 “ hands of men, or any machines do, toward throwing down such
 “ (*) fortifications? At which time he had many like discourses
 “ with

(c) *Cap. ix. §. 1.*

(d) *Σὺν Θεῷ γ' ἐπολεμήσομεν . . . κ. λ. ἰθ.*

(*) Undoubtedly Titus, upon entering into that part of the city, which was now taken, and so becoming master of the whole city of Jerusalem, had some discourses with his Generals, suitable to the occasion. But Josephus, in imitation of the Greek and Roman historians, who made speeches for their Generals, embellisheth here. And he makes Titus say some things, which he did not say. The tyrants, as Josephus calls them, were guilty of mad conduct in their divisions, in destroying, as they had done, many stores proper for sieges, and in other respects. But Titus could not charge them with folly and madnesse in relinquishing

the three towers here referred to. Josephus has given a particular description of them. *De B. J. l. 5. cap. iv. §. 3.* They were strong and lofty buildings, raised upon the north wall of the city. Herod had displayed his magnificence in them. But they were not fit for garrisons, or to be made places of defense. They were rather summer-palaces, fitted for diversion and entertainment, with splendid apartments and sumptuous furniture. The Jews did not relinquish any places of defense. They vigorously defended their several walls, and the tower Antonia, and the Temple. They had fully exercised all the militarie skill and courage of Titus, and his many Generals, and tired his soldiers: and induced them more than once to despair of victorie, as our historian himself

A. D. 76. " with his friends. He also set at liberty such as had been bound
 " by the tyrants, and were still in the prisons. And when he en-
 " tirely demolished the rest of the city, and overthrew it's (e) walls,
 " he left those towers to be monuments of his fortune, which had
 " fought with him, and had enabled him to take what otherwise
 " would have been impregnable."

" The (f) soldiers were wearie of killing. But there were many
 " still alive. Titus therefore gave orders, that none should be kil-
 " led, but such as were in arms, or made resistance, and to take the
 " rest captive. Nevertheless the soldiers slew the aged and the in-
 " firm. But for those who were in their flourishing age, and might
 " be usefull to them, they drove them together into the temple,
 " and shut them up within the walls of the court of the women.
 " Over whom Titus set one of his freed-men, and *Fronto*, one of
 " his friends, who was to determine the fate of each one according
 " to his desert. Many were ordered to be slain. But of the young
 " men he chose out the tallest, and the most beautifull, and re-
 " served them for the triumph. Such as were above seventeen years
 " of age, he bound, and sent them to work in the mines in E-
 " gypt. Titus also sent a great many into the provinces, as pre-
 " sents to them, that they might be destroyed in their theatres, ei-
 " ther by the sword, or by wild-beasts. They who were under
 " seventeen years of age, were sold for slaves. And during the
 " time that *Fronto* was determining the fate of these men, there
 " perished eleven thousand for want of food. Some of them had
 " no food, through the ill-will of those who guarded them. O-
 " thers would not take what was given them. And indeed there
 " were so many, that there was not food for them."

Jose-

himself has informed us. It appears how-
 ever from Josephus, that *Simon* made use
 of the tower *Phasaelus* for his own habi-
 tation, during a good part of the siege.
 Τηνκαῦτα γεμὴν τυραννέον ἀπεδείχθη τῷ Σί-
 μωνος. *Ib.* §. 3. p. 330. in.

(e) Αὐθις δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἀφανίζων πόλιν,
 καὶ τείχη κατασκάπτων, τέτρες τὰς πύργους κα-
 τέλιπε μνημεῖον εἶναι τῆς αὐτοῦ τυγχῆς, ἢ συσ-
 τρατιώτιδι χρησάμενος ἐκράτησε τῶν ἀλῶναι μὴ
 δυναμένων. *L.* 7. cap. ix. §. 1.

(f) *Cap.* ix. §. 2.

Josephus does not here speak of any Jews being crucified at this time. Nevertheless, I apprehend, that many now suffered in that manner. For in (g) one of the last sections of his Life, giving an account of things, presently after the city was taken, he says, he was sent by Titus, with *Cerealis*, one of his Generals, and a thousand horse, to a village called *Thekoa*, to see whether it was a place fit for a camp. “As I came back, says he, I saw many of the captives crucified. Among them I discerned three of my former acquaintance, which gave me great concern. I thereupon went to Titus with tears in my eyes, and spoke to him. Who immediately gave orders to have them taken down, and that the best care should be taken of them for their recoverie. However two of them died under cure. The third survived.”

“The (b) number of those who were taken captive, during the whole war, was computed to be ninety and seven thousand. And the number of those who perished during the siege eleven hundred thousand. The greater part of them were indeed of the same nation, but not inhabitants of the city. For they were come up from all the countrey to the festival of unleavened bread, and were on a sudden shut in by the armie. Which (i) occasioned so great a straitness, that there came on a pestilential disorder, and then a famine, which was more severe.”

And presently afterwards, “This (k) great multitude was collected from other places. The whole nation was shut up as in a prison. And the Roman armie encompassed the city, when it was crouded with inhabitants. Accordingly (l) the multitude of those who perished therein exceeded all the destructions, that men or God ever brought on the world.”

N. B.

“As

(g) *De Vit.* §. 75.

(b) §. 3.

(i) ὥστε τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοῖς τὴν στενότητα γενέσθαι λοιμώδη φθοράν, αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ λιμὸν ἀκρότερον. *Ib.*

(k) §. 4.

(l) Πᾶσαν γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ δαιμόνιον φθορὰν ὑπερβάλλει τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολωλότων. *Ib.*

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“ As (*m*) many were hid in caverns, the Romans made searches after them. If any were found alive, they were presently slain. But beside them they found there more than two thousand, some killed by themselves, and by one another, and more destroyed by famine. The ill savour of the dead bodies was offensive. Nevertheless for the sake of gain many of the soldiers ventured into the caverns, where was found much treasure.”

“ *John* (*n*) and his brethren, who were with him in a cavern, wanted food. Now therefore he begged, that the Romans would give him the right hand for security, which he had often rejected before. But *Simon* struggled hard with the distress he was in, ’till he was forced to surrender himself, as we shall relate hereafter. So he was reserved for the triumph, and to be then slain. *John* was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. And (*o*) now the Romans set fire to the extreme parts of the city, and burnt them down, and demolished the walls to the foundation.”

“ Thus (*p*) was Jerusalem taken in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, on the eighth day of the month of September. It had been taken five times before. This is the second time of it’s desolation.” Josephus then enumerates these several times, and computes how many years it was from the time of it’s being first built. And then adds. “ But neither it’s antiquity, nor it’s immense riches, nor the reputation of the nation, celebrated throughout the whole world, nor the great glorie of it’s religion, has been sufficient to preserve it from destruction. Such was the end of the siege of Jerusalem.”

These are the last words of his sixth book of the Jewish War.

Then, at the beginning of the seventh book, he says :

“ And

(*m*) §. 4.

(*n*) *Ibid.* §. 4.

(*o*) Παῦλοι τὰς τε ἐγκαταὶς τῆ ἀσείας ἐνέπαρσαν, καὶ τὰ τέχνη κατέσκαψαν. *Ibid.*

(*p*) *Cap. x. ibid.*

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“ And (*q*) now, when no more were left to be slain, nor any
 “ more plunder remained for the soldiers; Cesar gave orders, that
 “ they should demolish to the foundation the whole city, and the
 “ temple: leaving only the fore-mentioned towers *Pbasælus*, *Hip-*
 “ *picus*, and *Mariamne*, and so much of the wall, as was on the west
 “ side of the city. That was spared, in order to afford a camp for
 “ those who were to lye in garrison. But (*r*) as for all the rest N. B.
 “ of the whole circumference of the city, it was so thoroughly
 “ laid even with the ground, by those who dug it up to the foun-
 “ dation, that there was nothing left to make those who came thi-
 “ ther to believe, it had ever been inhabited.”

So said our Lord. Luke xix. 44. *And they shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee. And they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation.*

The soldiers who were left in garrison near the city, must have been instruments in digging up every part of it to the foundation. For Josephus afterwards describing the journey of Titus through Palestine to Alexandria, and observing how Titus was affected at the sight of the deplorable condition of the place, has these expressions.
 “ And (*s*) no small part of it's riches had been found in it's ruins. This
 “ the Romans dug up. They found a great deal of gold and silver,
 “ and other precious things, which the owners had treasured up un-
 “ der ground, against the uncertain fortunes of war. And they were
 “ assisted by the captives in the discoverie of such things.”

And *Eleazar*, in one of his speeches at *Massada*, to be farther taken notice of hereafter, where he persuades the people with him to consent to be put to death, has these expressions. “ Where (*t*) is now
 “ that great city, the metropolis of the whole Jewish nation? . . .
 “ Where is that city, which we believed to have God inhabiting in

(*q*) *L. 7. cap. i. §. 1.*

(*r*) ἄλλων ἅπαντα τῆς πόλεως περίσσευον ὅ-
 τως ἐξωμόλισαν οἱ καταστράτοντες. . . κ. λ.
ib.

(*s*) *L. 7. cap. v. §. 2. p. 412. Hav. Et*
Conf. l. 6. cap. ix. §. 4.

(*t*) *L. 7. cap. viii. §. 7. p. 430. Hav.*

- A. D. 76. “ it ? It (*u*) is rooted up to the foundation, and has no other monument left, but the armie of those who have destroyed it, encamping upon it’s ruins. . . Who can consider these things, and not be sorry, that he is still alive ? I cannot but wish, that we had all died, before we had seen that holy city overthrown by it’s enemies, and (*x*) the holy temple so profanely dug up to the foundation.”
- N. B.

And *Whitby* in his notes upon Matt. xxiv. 2. says: “ The Jewish Talmud and Maimonides add, that Turnus [*i. e.* *Terentius Rufus*] captain of the armie of Titus, did with a plow-share tear up the foundations of the temple, and thereby signally fulfill those words in Micah iii. 12. *Therefore shall Zion for your sakes be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem become heaps, and the mountain of the house as the high places of the forest.*”

Grotius has well observed upon Matt. xxiv. 1. “ that the temple, which had been repaired, or rebuilt by *Herod*, was rightly esteemed to be the same temple that had been built by *Zorubabel*. So therefore *Josephus* says, that the temple had been twice destroyed, once by the Chaldeans, a second time by Titus. And the Jewish Masters call the destruction made by Titus, *the destruction of the second temple*. Whilst this temple stood, the Messiah was to be expected, not only according to the prophecie of Daniel, but likewise of Haggai. ch. ii. 8. and Malachi ch. iii. 1.

“ Cesar (*y*) determined to leave there as a guard the tenth legion, with some troops of horse and companies of foot. Having now compleated the war, he returned thanks to his whole armie, and distributed rewards among them. For this purpose he had a large tribunal erected for him in the place, where he formerly encamped. That was a work of three days”

“ The (*z*) rest of the armie was sent away to several places. But he permitted the tenth legion to stay as a guard upon Jerusalem. “ Then

(*u*) Προβήζας ἐκ βάθρων ἀνέσταςαι . . .

(*x*) . . . πρὶν τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἁγίου ἕως ἀνω-
νίας ἐξορυσγμένον. *Ibid.*

(*y*) *L.* 7. cap. i. §. 1.

(*z*) §. 2.

“ Then he went to Cefarea by the sea-side, taking with him two
“ legions, the fifth and the fifteenth, to attend him, ’till he should
“ go to Egypt. At Cefarea he laid-up the spoils in great quantities,
“ and gave orders, that the captives should be kept there.”

“ From (a) that *Cefarea* Titus went to *Cefarea Philippi*, where he
“ stayed some while, and exhibited all sorts of shews. Here many
“ of the captives were destroyed. Some were thrown to wild-beasts.
“ Others in great numbers, were compelled to fight with each other.
“ Whilst he was there, he heard of the seizure of *Simon son of Gio-*
“ *ras*, who during the siege had commanded in the upper city, and
“ who had concealed himself under ground as long as he could.
“ But now fell into the hands of *Terentius Rufus*, who had been
“ left to keep guard at the ruins of Jerusalem. When Titus was
“ returned to Cefarea by the sea-side, Simon was brought bound be-
“ fore him, who ordered him to be kept for the triumph at Rome.”

“ At (b) Cefarea Titus solemnized the birth-day of his brother
“ *Domitian*, on (c) the 24. day of October, in a splendid manner,
“ doing honour to him in the punishment of the Jews. For the
“ number of those who were now slain, in fighting with beasts, or
“ were burnt to death, or fought with one another, exceeded two
“ thousand and five hundred. Yet did all this seem to the Romans,
“ though they were destroyed ten thousand ways, beneath their de-
“ ferts. Afterwards Titus went to *Berytus*, a city in Phenicia, and
“ a Roman colonie. There he stayed a longer time, and exhibited
“ a more pompous solemnity, on his Father’s birth-day. [Nov. 17.]
“ Here a great number of the captives were destroyed in the like
“ manner as before.”

“ Having (d) staid some while at *Berytus*, he set forward to *An-*
“ *tioch*. And as he went, exhibited magnificent shews in all the

R 2

“ cities

(a) cap. ii. §. 1.

ann. 70. n. xviii.

(b) cap. iii. §. 1.

(d) cap. v. §. 1.

(c) Vid. Pagi ann. 70. n. iii. et Beshag.

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“ cities of Syria, making use of the captives, as public instances of
“ the overthrow of the Jewish nation.”

At (e) *Antioch* he was received with loud acclamations. Thence he went to *Zeugma*, which lies upon the Euphrates. Whither came to him messengers from Vologesus, King of Parthia, who brought him a crown of gold, congratulating him upon his victorie over the Jews, which he accepted. There he feasted the King's messengers, and then returned to Antioch.

It does not appear, that Titus celebrated any shews there. And when the people of that place requested him to expell the Jews out of their city, he refused to comply with them, and confirmed to them all the privileges, which they had hitherto enjoyed there.

Having (f) sent away the two before mentioned legions, by which he had been attended, one to *Mysia*, the other to *Pannonia*: and having given orders for sending *Simon* and *John*, and seven hundred of the tallest and handsomest of the captives, to appear in the triumph at Rome, he went to Alexandria, and thence to Rome. And passing through *Palestine*, in his way to Egypt, he was much moved as Josephus says, at the sight of the desolations of that countrey.

When (g) Titus came near Rome, he was received with great rejoycings by the people, who came out to meet him, as also by his father Vespasian. And though the senate had decreed to them two several triumphs, they chose to have but one. Josephus has not informed us exactly concerning the time of it. And learned critics are now of different opinions. Some (h) place it near the end of the month of April, in 71. Others (i) argue, that it must have been later.

“ Many (k) other spoils, says Josephus, were carried in great abundance. But the most considerable of all were those taken out of the temple at *Jerusalem*. There was the golden table, of many
“ talents.

(e) . . §. 2.

(f) §. 2. 3.

(g) §. 3. 4.

(h) *Vid. Pagi ann. 70. n. vi.*

(i) *Basnag. 71. n. iii.*

(k) §. 5.

“talents. And the candlestick, likewise of gold, with it's seven
 “lamps, a number much respected by the Jews. The last of all
 “the spoils was the Law of the Jews. After which were carried
 “images of Victorie, made of gold, or ivorie. After which came
 “*Vespasian* first, on horse-back, then *Titus*. *Domitian* also was there,
 “splendidly attired, and riding upon a beautifull horse.”

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“The (*l*) end of this pompous shew was at the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. When they came thither, they stood still. For
 “it was the ancient custom of the Romans, to stay, till word was
 “brought, that the General of theemie was slain. This was *Simon the son of Gioras*, who had been led in the triumph among
 “the captives. A rope was put about his neck, and he was led to a
 “proper place in the Forum, where malefactors were put to death.
 “When tidings of his death were brought, all the people set up the
 “shout of Joy. And sacrifices were offered up, with the accustomed
 “prayers. The Emperour then went to his palace, and feasting
 “ings were made every where.”

“And (*m*) now *Vespasian* determined to build a temple to Peace,
 “which was finished in a short time, and in a splendid manner.
 “Here he laid up those golden vessels and instruments, that were
 “taken out of the Jewish temple, as ensigns of his glorie. But their
 “law, and the purple veils of the holy place he ordered to be deposited
 “in his palace.”

“That (*n*) temple was adorned with paintings and statues. In
 “it were collected and repositied all such curiosities, as men are wont
 “to wander all over the world to obtain a sight of.”

The book of the Law does not now appear in what is called the
 triumphal arch of *Titus*, though the Table and the candlestick are
 very visible.

Josephus in his Life says, that when the city was taken, *Titus*
 gave him leave to ask what he pleased. One (*o*) of his requests was

(*l*) §. 6.

(*m*) §. 7.

(*n*) *Ib.* §. 7.

to
 (*o*) ... καὶ βασιλεὺς ἰερῶν ἔλαβον χαρισμέ-
 να *Titus*. *Vit.* §. 75.

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to have the sacred books, which were granted to him. Here, in the historie of the war, he seems to say, they (*p*) were deposited in the Emperour's palace. Possibly, they were placed there. But Josephus was allowed to have the use of them, when he desired it.

The temple of Peace according to the description which Josephus has given of it, appears to have resembled our *British Museum*, and other like rich cabinets of Princes in several parts of Europe.

The temple of Peace was burnt down in the reign of Commodus. But it is likely, that many of the curiosities deposited in it, were preserved from the flames. And the Jewish spoils were in being in the fifth centurie, and afterwards, though not at Rome, as we learn from (*q*) *Adrian Reland*.

We have seen the overthrow of the city and temple of Jerusalem. But there still remained some strong places in Judea, not yet taken by the Romans. Of which Josephus has given an account. And it is fit we should trace him to the end of his historie of the Jewish War. For, as our Lord said, *Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together*. Matt. xxiv. 28. And see Luke xvii. 37.

Lucilius Bassus (*r*) was sent into Judea by Vespasian as Lieutenant, where he received a sufficient armie from *Cerealis Vitellianus*. He soon took *Herodion*, and made the garrison prisoners.

He (*s*) then determined to go to *Machaerus*. By means of an accident, well emproved, he became master of it, without much losse on either side.

“ Having (*t*) settled affairs there, he marched hastily to the fo-
“ rest

(*p*) Τὸν δὲ νόμον αὐτῶν, . . . προσέταξεν
ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀποθεμένους φυλάττειν. L. 7.
c. v. §. 7.

(*q*) Imperante Commodo deflagavit
hoc templum Pacis, teste Herodiano L. 1.
cap. 14. sed cum eo non periisse spolia
Hierosolymitana certum est, quoniam se-

culo quinto a Christo nato ea in Africam
delata sunt, ut mox videbimus. &c. *Re-*
land. De Spoliis Templ. Hieros. cap. 13. p.

133.

(*r*) L. 7. cap. vi. 1.(*s*) *Ib.* §. 1. . . 4.(*t*) *Ib.* §. 5.

Ch. III. *How other Places in Judea were reduced.*

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“rest of *Jardes*. Where, as he was informed, many were gathered together, who during the siege had escaped from *Jerusalem*, and *Macherus*. When they engaged, the battle was fierce and obstinate on both sides. Nevertheless of the Romans there were not more than twelve killed, and not many wounded. But of the Jews not one escaped out of the battle, but they were all killed, being not fewer in number than three thousand, and with them their General, *Judas*, the son of *Jairus*, who had been captain of a band in the siege of *Jerusalem*, and by getting out through a vault under ground had privately escaped.”

“About (u) this time the Emperour sent orders to *Lucilius Bassus*, and *Liberius Maximus*, that all Judea should be exposed to sale. For he founded not any city there, but reserved the countrey to himself. However he assigned a place for eight hundred men, whom he dismissed from the armie, which he gave them for their habitation. It is called *Ammaus*, and is distant from *Jerusalem* sixty furlongs. He also laid a tribute upon the Jews wherever they were, requiring that every one of them should bring two drachmas [*half a shekel*] every year to the Capitol, the same that they had been used to pay to the temple at *Jerusalem*.”

Bassus (x) having died in Judea, *Flavius Silva* was sent to succeed him in the government of that countrey. Who soon made an expedition against *Massada*, the only remaining fortresse. It was in the possession of *Eleazar* a commander of the *Sicarii*. He was a descendent of *Judas*, who had persuaded many of the Jews, as formerly related, not to submit to the assessment made by *Cyrenius*, when he came into Judea after the removal of *Archelaus*.

When (a) there was no room left for escaping, *Eleazar* called together the principal persons, and consulted with them what might be best to be done. At which time he made an oration to them,
to

(u) §. 6.

(x) *Cap. viii. §. 1.*

(a) §. 6.

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That (*b*) oration had great effect upon many. Some however there were, who hesitated. He therefore went on, and made another oration to the like purpose. All now were persuaded.

“ They (*c*) then chose ten men of the number by lot, to slay all the
 “ rest. When these ten men had without fear slain all the rest, men,
 “ women, and children, as determined, they cast lots upon them-
 “ selves. And he who had the first lot killed the other nine, and
 “ then himself. These people so died, with the intention, that they
 “ might not leave so much as one man among them to be subject
 “ to the Romans. However, there was one ancient woman, and
 “ another woman, related to *Eleazar*, who exceeded most women
 “ in knowledge and prudence, and five children, who had hid them-
 “ selves in a cavern under ground. They had carried water with
 “ them for their drink, and lay quiet there, whilst the rest were in-
 “ tent upon the slaughter of each other. The whole number of
 “ these people, including the just mentioned women and children,
 “ was nine hundred and sixty. This slaughter was made on the
 “ fifteenth day of the month of April in the year 73. as may be
 “ computed.”

When the Romans entered the place the next morning their sur-
 prise was very great, as may be well supposed.

Soon (*d*) after this some turbulent Jews were the occasion of dis-
 turbances at *Alexandria*, where six hundred were slain, and after
 that in *Cyrene*, where more than three thousand suffered. The di-
 turbance there was occasioned by the imposture of *Jonatkan*, a
 weaver, who (*e*) persuaded many people of the meaner sort to fol-
 low

(*b*) *Ib.* §. 7.

(*c*) *Cap.* ix. §. 1. 2.

(*d*) *Cap.* x. et xi.

(*e*) . . . ἐκ ἐλίγης τῶν ἀπόρων εἰπέσε προ-

σέχων αὐτῶ, καὶ προήγαγεν εἰς τοὺς ἔρημον, ση-
 μῶα καὶ φάσματα, δέξεν ὑποσχομένους. *cap.*
xi. §. 1.

low him into the wilderness, where he promised to shew them signs and wonders. Moreover Vespasian sent express orders, that the Jewish temple of *Onias*, as it was called, built in the prefecture of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, should be demolished. Which was done in the year of Christ 74. about two hundred and twenty four years after it had been first built, as (f) *Prideaux* computes.

We before saw, what was the number of those, who were computed to have perished in the siege of Jerusalem. But taking in also those who had suffered in other places out of Jerusalem, these, added to the eleven hundred thousand that perished in the siege, make the whole number thirteen hundred and thirty seven thousand four hundred and ninety, an innumerable company still being omitted, that perished through famine, banishment, and other (g) miseries. Which I think to be no aggravation at all.

IX. Let us now reflect.

1. All these things have we seen in Josephus, who at the beginning of his work says: “ I (h) Josephus son of Matthias, by birth a Hebrew of Jerusalem, and a Priest, who my-self at first fought against the Romans, and was afterwards forced to be present at the things that were done, have writ this historie.”

Reflexions upon the preceding Historie.

The conclusion of the whole work, at the end of the seventh and last book of the Jewish War, is to this effect. “ Here (i) we put an end to our historie, which we promised to deliver with all accuracy to those who are desirous to know, how this war of the Romans with the Jews was managed. Concerning the stile, let the readers judge. Concerning the truth, I may boldly say, that only has been aimed at throughout the whole work.”

(f) See his *Connexion*, &c. year before Christ 149. p. 266.

(h) *De B. Jud. in Pr. §. 1.*

(i) *L. 7. cap. xi. §. 5.*

(g) See *Usher's Annals*, p. 907. in English, Lond. 1658.

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Perhaps likewise it may not be amiss to observe what he says of this work in his first book against Appion, writ long afterwards, near the period of his life.

“ As (*k*) for my-self I have composed a true historie of that war, and of all the particulars that occurred therein: as having been concerned in all it's transactions. For I acted as General among those among us, who are called *Galileans*, as long as it was possible for us to make any opposition. And when I was taken captive by the Romans, *Vespasian* and *Titus* had me kept under a guard. But obliged me to attend them continually. At first I was in bonds, afterwards I was set at liberty, and was sent to accompany *Titus*, when he came from *Alexandria* to the siege of *Jerusalem*. During which time nothing was done, which escaped my knowledge. What happened in the Roman camp I saw, and wrote it down carefully. What information the deserters brought out of the city, I was the only man that understood it. Afterwards I got leisure at *Rome*. And when all my materials were prepared, I procured the help of one to assist me in writing Greek. Thus I composed the historie of those transactions. And I was so well assured of the truth of what I related, that I first appealed to those who had the supreme command in that war, *Vespasian* and *Titus*, as witnesses for me. For to them I first presented those books, and after them to many of the Romans, who had been in the war. I also communicated them to many of our own men, who understood the Greek philosophy: among whom were *Julius Archelaus*, and *Herod*, a person of great gravity, and King *Agrippa* himself, who deserved the greatest admiration. All these bore testimonie to me, that I had the strictest regard to truth. Who would not have dissembled the matter, nor have been silent, if through ignorance, or out of favour to either side I had altered, or omitted any thing.”

2. Jo-

(*k*) *Contr. Ap. l. i. §. 9.*

2. Josephus's historie of the Jewish War is an ample testimonie to the fulfilment of all the predictions of our Lord, concerning the demolition of the temple and city of Jerusalem, and the miseries to be endured by the nation, during the siege, which were such as had never before happened to any people, nor were likely to happen again.

3. The sufferers in these calamities were, generally, men of the worst characters, Robbers and Sicarii, and others too much resembling them. 'It is reasonable to believe, that no Christians were then shut up in the city, nor many other good men, to partake in the miseries of that long and grievous siege. As St. Peter says, having instanced in the preservation of *Noah the eighth person, when God brought in the flood upon the world of the ungodly, and then delivering just Lot, when the cities of Sodom and Gomarrhab were turned into ashes*, adds, with a view to other like cases, and probably to the destruction of Jerusalem itself, *The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgement to be punished.* 2 Pet. ii. 5...9.

4. I think it ought to be observed by us, that there was not now any pestilence at Jerusalem, but the Jews perished by the calamities of war. It might have been expected, that the bad food, which they were forced to make use of in the streightness of the siege, and the noisome smell of so many dead bodies, lying in heaps, in the city itself, and in the valleys or ditches without the walls, should have produced a plague. But nothing of that kind appears (*) in the historie, which must have been owing to the special interposition of Divine Providence. Josephus (1) in some of the places, where he

S 2

speaks

(*) Il est difficile que tant de peuples renformez dans une ville durant les chaleurs de l'été, de si mechants nourritures, et surtout la puanteur de tant de corps morts, n'aient joint la peste à la famine. Joseph n'en parle neanmoins qu'en un en-

droit, en passant. Ce qui marque qu'elle ne fut pas considerable. Till. Ruine des Juifs. art. 67. p. 960.

(1) Vid. De B. Jud. l. 5. cap. xii. §. 4.

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speaks of the putrefaction of the dead bodies, may use expressions, equivalent to *pestilential*. But he never shews, that there was an infection. If there had, it would have equally affected the Romans and the Jews, and the siege of the place must have been broke up, and the Romans would have gone off, as fast as they could.

5. None can forbear to observe the time, when all these things came to pass. Our Lord says, Matt. xxiii. 36. *Verily, I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this Generation.* And xxiv. 34. *Verily I say unto you: This generation shall not pass, till all these things shall be fulfilled.* So likewise Mark xiii. 30. and Luke xxi. 32. So it was. All these things foretold by our Lord came to pass, before the end of that generation of men. Jerusalem and the temple were no more, before the end of the year 70. of the christian epoch, and within forty years after his crucifixion.

Concerning the time also our Lord said: *And this gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witnesse to all nations.* Matt. xxiv. 14. Comp. Mark xiii. 10.

This we know from Christian writings, particularly the books of the New Testament, most of which were writ before the destruction of Jerusalem. They bear witnesse, that the gospel had been preached to Jews and Gentils, in *Judea, Syria, Asia, Greece, Macedonia, and Rome*, and other places, and with great success. And the preaching of the gospel throughout the world was a *testimonie to all nations*, that the calamities inflicted upon the Jewish people were just and fit. They bear witnesse, that the Jewish nation had been called upon to repent, and were faithfully, and affectionately, and earnestly warned and admonished, but they refused to hearken. See the Acts of the Apostles, and Mark xvi. 20. Rom. x. 18. Col. i. 6. and 23.

Says Archbishop Tillotson. "We (*m*) have this matter related, not
" by a Christian, (who might be suspected of partiality, and a de-
" sign

(*m*) Vol. 2. p. 563. *serm.* 186. *the seventh sermon upon 2 Cor. iv. 3. 4.*

“ sign to have paralleled the event with our Saviour’s prediction :)
 “ but by a Jew, both by nation and religion, who seems designedly
 “ to have avoided, as much as possibly he could, the very mention
 “ of the Christian name, and all particulars relating to our Saviour,
 “ though no historian was ever more punctual in other things.”

Says Mr. *Tillemont* (n) “ God has been pleased to chooſe for our
 “ information in this historie, not an Apoſtle, nor any of the
 “ chief men of the Church, but an obſtinate Jew, whom neither
 “ the view of the virtue and miracles of the Chriſtians, nor the
 “ knowledge of the Law, nor the ruin of his religion and countrey,
 “ could induce to believe in and love the Meſſiah, who was all the
 “ expectation of the nation. God has permitted it ſo to be, that the
 “ teſtimonie, which this hiſtorian gave to an event, of which he did
 “ not comprehend the myſterie, might not be rejected, neither by
 “ Jews, nor Heathens, and that none might be able to ſay, that he
 “ had altered the truth of things to favour Jeſus Chriſt and his diſ-
 “ ciples.”

Dr. W. *Wotton* ſays of *Joſephus*: “ He (o) is certainly an Author
 “ very juſtly to be valued, notwithstanding all his faults. *His Hiſto-*
 “ *rie of the Jewiſh War* is a noble demonſtration of the truth of the
 “ Chriſtian Religion, by ſhewing in the moſt lively manner, how
 “ the prophecies of our bleſſed Lord concerning the deſtruction of
 “ Jeruſalem were literally fulfilled in their full-eſt extent.”

And Dr. *Doddridge* in his notes upon the xxiv chapter of St. *Mat-*
thew’s Goſpel, ſays: “ Chriſtian (p) writers have always with great
 “ reaſon repreſented *Joſephus’s Hiſtory of the Jewiſh War*, as the beſt
 “ commentarie upon this chapter. And many have juſtly remarked
 “ it, as a wonderful inſtance of the care of Providence for the Chri-
 “ ſtian Church, that he, an eye-witneſſe, and in theſe things, of ſo
 “ great

(n) *Ruine des Juifs*, art. i. p. 722.

(o) *Preface to his Miscellaneous Diſcour-*
ſes relating to the Traditions and Uſages of
the Scribes and Phariſees. p. xlix. The

faults, which he obſerves in *Joſephus*,
 may be ſeen at p. xxxiii &c.

(p) *The Family Expoſitor*. §. 160. Vol.
 2. p. 373.

A. D. " great credit, should, (especially in so extraordinarie a manner,) be
 " preserved, to transmit to us a collection of important facts, which
 " so exactly illustrate this noble prophetic, in almost every particu-
 " lar circumstance. But as it would swell my notes too much to en-
 " ter into a particular detail of those circumstances, I must content
 " my-self with referring to Dr. *Whitby's* excellent notes upon the
 " xxiv. of Matthew, and to Archbishop *Tillotson's* large and accurate
 " discourse on the same subject in the second volume of his postu-
 " mous works. Sermon. 183. . . . 187."

Isidore of Pelusium, who flourished about the year 412. in one of his epistles, has these expressions: " If (*q*) you have a mind to
 " know, what punishment the wicked Jews underwent, who ill-
 " treated the Christ, read the historie of their destruction, writ by
 " *Josephus*, a Jew indeed, but a lover of truth, that you may see the
 " wonderfull storie, such as no time ever saw before since the begin-
 " ing of the world, nor ever shall be. For that none might refuse
 " to give credit to the historie of their incredible and unparalleled
 " sufferings, truth found out not a stranger, but a native, and a man
 " fond of their institutions, to relate them, in a dolefull strain."

Eusebius often quotes *Josephus*, and in his Ecclesiastical Historie, has transcribed from him several articles at large. Having rehearsed from the Gospels divers of our Lord's predictions of the evils then coming upon Jerusalem, and the Jewish people, he adds: " Who-
 " soever (*r*) shall compare these words of our Saviour with the hi-
 " storie of the whole war, published by the above mentioned wri-
 " ter, must admire our Lord's great wisdom, and acknowledge that
 " his foresight was divine."

In his Chronicle, as we have it from Jerome in Latin, *Eusebius* says: " In (*s*) subduing Judea, and overthrowing Jerusalem, Titus
 " slew

(*q*) *Lib. 4. ep. 75. vid. et ep. 74.*

(*r*) *H. E. l. 3. cap. 8. p. 81. D.*

(*s*) Titus Judaea captâ, et Jerosolymis

subversis, DC millia virorum interfecit. Jo-
 sephus vero scribit undecies centena millia
 fame et gladio periisse, et alia centum
 millia

“flew six hundred thousand people. But Josephus writes, that eleven hundred thousand perished by famine and the sword, and that another hundred thousand were publicly sold and carried captives. And he says, that the occasion of there being so great a multitude of people at Jerusalem was this, that it was the time of Passover. For which reason the Jews having come up from all parts to worship at the temple, they were shut up, in the city, as in a prison. And indeed, it was fit they should be slain at the same time, in which they crucified our Saviour.”

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It is certainly very fit, that Christians should attend to the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions, relating to the Jewish people : which are so frequent, so solemn, and affectionate. The testimonie of Josephus is the most considerable of all. It is the most full, and particular, and exact of any we have, or have the knowledge of. And he was an eye-witnesse. And he was manifestly zealous for the honour of his countrey. He had a great respect for the temple, and it's worship, and for all the peculiarities of the Mosaic law. And he continued to have the same to the last, as appears from his own life, and his books against Apion.

X. Josephus, in the preface to his own work, intimates, that some histories of the war had been before written by others. But he represents them as partial, and defective, and composed by men, who were not well informed. Undoubtedly none of these remain now. They have been lost long since.

Other ancient Writers bearing Witness to the same Events.

Justus of Tiberias, contemporarie with Josephus, between whom there were many differences, also wrote a historie of the war. Josephus in his *Life* chargeth him with falshood, and blames him for not

millia captivorum publice venundata. Ut autem tanta multitudo Jerosolymis reperirentur, causam Azymorum fuisse refert: ob quam ex omni genere Judaei ad tem-

plum confluentes urbe quasi carcere sunt reclusi. Oportuit enim in iisdem diebus eos interfici, in quibus Salvatorem crucifixerant. *Chron* p. 162.

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not publishing his work untill after the death of *Vespasian and Titus and King Agrippa*. Josephus owns (*t*) that Justus was well skilled in Greek learning. And he plainly says, that he wrote of the war.

I do not clearly perceive *Eusebius* (*u*) to have known any thing of Justus, but what he learned from the testimonies of Josephus above referred to by me.

Justus (*x*) is in *Jerome's* catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers. He seems to ascribe to him two books.

Photius (*y*) I think, speaks of but one work of this author, which he calls a *Chronicle*. He says, it began with Moses, and ended at the death of Agrippa. He also takes notice of Josephus's censures both of the author himself and his work.

Stephanus Byzantinus, in his article of Tiberias, says: "Of (*z*) " this city was *Justus*, who wrote of the Jewish War in the time " of Vespasian."

Diogenes Laertius (*a*) in his Life of Socrates, quotes a passage from Justus of Tiberias: and seems to quote the same book that was read by Photius.

Several learned moderns (*b*) are of opinion, that Justus like Josephus, wrote two books, one of the Jewish War, another of the Jewish Antiquities. *Menage* (*c*) in his notes upon Diogenes Laertius,

(*t*) Καὶ γὰρ ἐδ' ἄποιοι ἦν παιδείας τῆς παρ' Ἑλλήσιν, ἣ θάρβαν ἐπεχέρισεν καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν πραγμάτων τέτων ἀναγράφειν. κ. λ. *Joseph. Vit. §. 9. Vid. et §. 65.*

(*u*) *H. E. l. 3. cap. x. p. 86. B.*

(*x*) Justus Tiberienfis de provincia Gallilaea, conatus est et ipse Judaicarum rerum historiam texere, et quosdam commentariolos de Scripturis componere: &c. *De V. I. cap. 14.*

(*y*) Ἀνεγνώσθη Ἰέσῃ Τιβερίως χρονίκον. κ. λ. *Cod. 33. p. 20.*

(*z*) Ἐκ ταύτης ἦν Ἰέσος, ὁ τὸν Ἰσδαϊκὸν πόλεμον τὸν κατὰ Οὐεσπασιανῆ ἱστορήσας. *Steph. Byz.*

(*a*) Φησὶν Ἰέσος ὁ Τιβερεὺς ἐν τῷ σέμματι. *Diog. La. l. 2. §. 41.*

(*b*) Unde colligo (*ex Hieronymi Catalogo*,) ut Josephus, ita et Justus, non modo de Antiquitatibus Judaicis, sed seorsum etiam de Bello Judaico scripsisse. *Voss. de H. Gr. Vid. et Valeff. Ann. in Euseb. l. 3. cap. x. Tillem. Ruine de Juifs. art. 82.*

(*c*) Scripsit ille Historiam Judaicam, eodem

us, ascribes to Justus three books, that is, Memoirs, beside the two before mentioned. I rather think, there was but one: and that what Justus wrote of the war was comprised in the Chronicle. Menage's argument from Suidas is of no value. For Suidas expresseth himself inaccurately. Nor does he mention more than two works. The Memoirs, *ὑπομνήματα*, are the same with Jerome's *Commentarioli de Scripturis*. Indeed, Suidas only transcribes Jerome, or his interpreter Sophronius, and has done it inaccurately.

Some (*d*) learned men lament the loss of this work. Others (*e*) think it was of little value. I cannot but wish, that the work, which was in being in the time of Photius, had also reached us. It must have been of some use. Perhaps the censure passed upon it by Josephus, who was in great credit, has been a prejudice to it.

I have allowed my-self to enlarge in my notice of this writer, who lived at the time, and was an actor in the Jewish war with the Romans. Though his work is not extant, he is a witness to that important transaction.

Pausanias, who (*f*) lived in the second centurie, and wrote after the year of our Lord 180. speaks (*g*) of a monument of Queen Helena at Jerusalem, which (*city*) an Emperour of the Romans had destroyed to the foundation.

dem tempore quo Josephus, a quo mendacii arguitur. Scripsit praeterea *ὑπομνήματα*, quorum meminit Suidas. Scripsit et Chronicon Regum Judaeorum, qui coronati fuere: Ut est apud Photium. Quod opus signat hic Laertius. *Menag. in loc. p. 94.*

(*d*) Josephus, in Vita sua, et alibi, quasi parum fido scriptori convitiatur. Sed de inimico, non magis ei crediderim, quam Iusto de Josepho crederem, si hi-

storia ejus exstaret, atque in ea acmulo ab eo detractum viderem. Utinam vero, quaecumque fuerit, ad nos usque pervenisset. *Cleric. H. E. A. C. C. cap. vii.*

(*e*) *Tillem. as above, art. 80.*

(*f*) *See Tillem. L'Emp. Marc. Aurele. art. xxxii.*

(*g*) *Ἑβραῖος δὲ Ἑλλήνης γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας τάφος ἐστὶν ἐν πόλει Σολύμοις, ἣν ἐς ἑβραῖος κατέβαλεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς. Pausan. l. 8. cap. 16. p. 633.*

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“Minucius Felix refers (*b*) the Heathen people, not only to Josephus, but also to *Antonie Julian*, a Roman author, from whom they might learn, that the Jews had not been ruined, nor abandoned of God, till they had first abandoned him: and that their present low condition was owing to their wickedness, and obstinacie therein, and that nothing had happened to them, but what had been foretold.”

Who that *Julian* was, cannot be said. There have been several of that name, one (*i*) of whom was Procurator of Judea, and was present with Titus at the siege of Jerusalem, as we know from Josephus. Tillemont says, that (*k*) possibly he wrote a historie of the siege of Jerusalem. G. Vossius (*l*) upon the ground of this passage of Minucius, puts *Antonie Julian* among Latin Historians, who had writ a historie of the Jews.

Minucius reckons *Josephus* among Roman writers. Dr. Davis suspects it to be an interpolation, and assigns not improbable reasons, in his notes upon the place.

Suetonius (*m*) has mentioned the occasion of the war, the appointment of Vespasian to be General, his, and his son's triumph at (*n*) Rome, and several other material things, which have been already observed, or will in time be observed by us from him.

What

(*b*) Scripta eorum relege. Vel si Romanis magis gaudes, ut transeamus veteres, Flavii Josephi, vel Antonii Juliani, de Judaeis require. Jam scies, nequitia suâ, hanc eos meruisse fortunam: nec quidquam accidisse, quod non sit his, si in contumaciâ perseverarent, ante praedictum. Ita prius eos deseruisse comprehendes, quam esse desertos: nec, ut impie loqueris, cum Deo suo esse captos, sed a Deo, ut disciplinae transfugas deditos. *Minuc. cap. 33. Conf. cap. 10.*

(*i*) Καὶ Μάρκος Αντώνιος, ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπίτροπος. *Jes. de B. J. l. 6. cap. iv. 3.*

(*k*) Ruine des Juifs, art. 72.

(*l*) Antonius Julianus Judaicam videtur historiam consignasse. &c. *De Hist. Lat. l. 3. De Historicis incertae aetatis.*

(*m*) *Sueton. Vespas. cap. 4. 5.*

(*n*) — ac triumphum utriusque Judaicum, equo albo comitatus est. *Demit. cap. 2.*

What (o) *Tacitus* has writ upon this subject, so far as it remains, may be taken notice of hereafter.

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Dion Cassius (p) is another witnesse, whose testimonie also may be taken more at large hereafter.

Philostratus says, “ that (q) when Titus had taken Jerusalem, and “ filled all about it with dead bodies, and the neighboring nations offered him crowns, he said, he was not worthie of such an honour, “ nor had he himself, he said, done that great work. He had only “ lent his hand in the service of God, when he was pleased to shew “ his displeasure.” *Philostratus* says, that *Apollonius* was much pleased with that token of wisdom and humanity. He likewise says, that *Apollonius* wrote a letter to Titus, and sent it by Damis, to this purpose. “ *Apollonius* sendeth greeting to Titus Emperour of the Romans. Since you refuse to be applauded for blood-shed and victory in war, I send you the crown of moderation. You know, for “ what things crowns are due.”

Hence divers learned men have argued, that Titus refused to be crowned for his victory over the Jews. *Basnage* (r) and other learned men on the contrarie are of opinion, that we may relye upon the authority of *Josephus*, who tells us, “ that he went from Antioch “ to the Zeugma, whither came to him messengers from Vologesus King of Parthia, and brought him a crown of gold, upon the “ victory obtained by him over the Jews: which he accepted of, “ and feasted the King’s messengers, and then returned to Antioch.”

Moreover he accepted of a triumph for his victory over the Jews,

(o) *Vid. Tac. Hist. Lib. v.*

(p) *Dio. l. 66. sub in.*

(q) Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τίτος ἤρκει τὰ Σόλυμα, καὶ νεκρῶν πλεῖα ἦν πάντα, τὰ ὁμοῦ τε ἐθνῶν ἐσεφάειν αὐτὸν. Ὅ δὲ οὐκ ἠξίω αὐτὸν τέτε· μὴ γὰρ αὐτὸν ταῦτα ἐργάζεσθαι, θεῶ δὲ ὀργὴν φέροντι ἐπεδεδωκέναι τὰς αὐτοῦ χεῖρας. κ. λ. *Philosf. de Vit. Apol. l. 6. cap. 29.*

(r) *Modestiam Titi laudibus effert Baronius, quod oblata sibi coronâ aureâ a provinciis, noluit coronari, testatus se prorsus indignum. Usserius, alii que eruditi, illud et ipsum tradunt, freti auctoritate Philostrati. . . Basnag. Ann. 70. n. xvi.*

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and all other honours customarie upon the like occasions. Nevertheless *Olearius*, in his notes upon the place, argues, that (s) Philostratus needs not to be understood to say, that Titus refused the crowns offered him, but only said, that he was unworthie of that honour, he having been only an instrument in the hand of God for displaying his just vengeance against guilty men.

And it must be owned, that *Olearius* expresth himself with great judgement and moderation. Either way, those learned men are to be reckoned mistaken, who have maintained that Titus refused to be crowned for his victorie over the Jews.

However, we are still to reckon Philostratus, at the begining of the third centurie, a good witnesse to the overthrow of Jerusalem by Titus.

These are early Heathen authors, who have related the destruction of Jerusalem, and thereby bore testimonie to the accomplishment of our Lord's predictions concerning it.

Nor can any forget the triumphal arch of Titus, still standing at Rome, of which we before took notice.

There

(s) Quem tamen Josephi locum immérito Philostrato opponi putem. . . . Neque enim Philostratus *repudiasse coronam* Titum ait, atque eâ non acceptâ legatos dimississe, quod viro docto interpretes persuasere,

sed hoc tantum, quod eo honore se indignum dixerit: justitiæ Dei vindicatricis instrumentum, cujus nullae fuerint in istis patrandis propriæ vires, sese exstitisse agnoscens, &c. *Olear. in loc.*

There (*t*) is also an ancient inscription to the honour of Titus, *who by his Father's directions and counsels had subdued the Jewish nation, and destroyed Jerusalem, which had never been destroyed by any princes, or people before.*

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Which has occasioned some learned men to say, that even inscriptions are not free from flatterie. But then it must be owned, that (*u*) the genuinnesse and antiquity of this inscription have been called in question. And there are some reasons to doubt, whether this comes from the Senate of Rome itself, as is pretended.

(*t*) Imp. Tito. Caesari. Divi. Vespasiani. F.

Vespasiano. Aug. Pontifici. Maximo

Trib. Pot. x. Imp. xvii. Cos. viii. P. P.

Principi. suo. S. P. Q. R.

Quod. Praeceptis. Patris. Consiliisque. et

Auspiciis. Gentem. Judaeorum. Domuit. Et

Urbem. Hierosolymam. Omnibus. Ante. Se

Ducibus. Regibus. Gentibusque. aut. Frustra

Petitam. aut. omnino. Intentatam. Delevit

Ap. Gruter. p. 244.

(*u*) Ubi steterit, ignoratur. Scaliger vult ab Onufrio fictum. *Ap. Gruter. Ib.*

C H A P. IV.

Three Paragraphs in the Works of Josephus, concerning John the Baptist, our Saviour, and James, the Lord's Brother, and observations upon the writings of Josephus.

- I. *Of John the Baptist.* II. *Concerning the Lord Jesus Christ.* III. *Concerning James, the Lord's Brother.* IV. *Concluding Observations upon the Writings, and Testimonie of Josephus.*

*Of John
the Bap-
tist.*

- I. “ **A** BOUT this time, says. (a) Josephus, there happen'd a
“ difference between Aretas King of Petraea, and He-
“ rod upon this occasion. Herod the Tetrarch had married the
“ daughter of Aretas, and lived a considerable time with her. But
“ in a journey he took to Rome, he made a visit to (*) Herod his
“ brother, though not by the same mother. . . Here falling in love
“ with Herodias, wife of the same Herod, daughter of their brother
“ Aristobulus, and sister of Agrippa the Great, he ventured to make
“ to her proposals of marriage. She not disliking them, they agreed
“ together at that time, that when he was returned from Rome, she
“ should go and live with him. And it was one part of the con-
“ tract,

(a) *Antiq. l. 18. cap. v. §. 1.*

(*) Our Evangelists call him *Philip*.
Matt. xiv. 3. and elsewhere. That diffi-
culty was considered formerly. Josephus

and the Evangelists mean the same per-
son: though they call him by different
names. See the *Credibility, &c. Part i.*
B. 2. ch. v. p. 884. &c.

“ tract, that Aretas's daughter should be put away. . . This (b) was
 “ the begining of the difference, and there being also some disputes
 “ about the limits of their territories, a war arose between Aretas,
 “ and Herod. And in a battle fought by them Herod's whole ar-
 “ mie was defeated.”

“ But, says (c) Josephus, some of the Jews were of opinion, that
 “ God had suffered Herod's armie to be destroyed, as a just punish-
 “ ment upon him, for the death of John, called the Baptist. For He-
 “ rod had killed him, who was a just man, and had called upon the
 “ Jews to be baptised, and to practise virtue, exercising both justice
 “ toward men and piety toward God. For so would baptism be ac-
 “ ceptable to God, if they made use of it, nor for the expiation of
 “ their sins, but for the purity of the body, the mind being first pu-
 “ rified by righteousness. And many coming to him, (for they were
 “ wonderfully taken with his discourses :) Herod was seized with ap-
 “ prehensions, least by his authority they should be led into sedition
 “ against him. For they seemed capable of undertaking any thing
 “ by his direction. Herod therefore thought it better to take him
 “ off, before any disturbance happened, than to run the risk of a
 “ change of affairs, and of repenting, when it should be too late to
 “ remedy disorders. Being taken up upon this suspicion of Herod,
 “ and

(b) Ὁ δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχθους ταύτην ποιησάμενος, περὶ τε ὄραν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Γαμαλίτιδι, καὶ δυνάμει ἐκατέρω συλλεγείσης, εἰς πόλεμον καθίστανται· καὶ μάχης γενομένης, διεφθέρη πᾶς ὁ Ἡρώδης στρατός κ. λ. *ib.* §. 1.

(c) Τισὶ δὲ Ἰουδαίων ἐδόκει, ὀλαλέναι τὸν Ἡρώδην στρατὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ μάλα δικαίως τινυμένως κατὰ ποινὴν Ἰωάννῃ τῷ ἐπικαλεσμένῳ βαπτιστῇ. Κτείνει γὰρ τὸτον Ἡρώδης, ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους κελεύοντα, ἀρετὴν ἐπασκάντας, καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν εὐσεβέως χρωμένους, βαπτισμῷ συνίεται· ἔτω γὰρ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν οὕτῳ φανέσθαι, μὴ ἐπὶ τινων ἀμαρτάνων παραιτήσῃ χρωμένων, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἀγνείᾳ τοῦ σώματος, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῆς Ψυ-

χῆς δικαιοσύνῃ προεκεκαθαρμένους. Καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συσφερομένων καὶ γὰρ ἤρθησαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῇ ἀκρόσει τῶν λόγων· δέσας Ἡρώδης τὸ ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ πιθανὸν αὐτῷ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ ἐπὶ ἀποσάσει τινὶ φέροι, πάντα γὰρ ἐώεσαν συμβεβῆ τῇ ἐκείνῃ πράξει· πολλὸν κρείττον ἡγείται, πρὶν τι καίτερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι, προλαβὼν ἀιρεῖν, ἢ μεταβολῆς γενομένης, εἰς τὰ πράγματα ἐμπεσὼν μετανοῆν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑποψία τῇ Ἡρώδῃ δέσμιος εἰς τὸν Μακαίρειοντα πεμφθεὶς, τὸ προκηρμένον φέριον, ταύτη κτίννεται. Τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις δόξαν, ἐπὶ τιμαρίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνῃ τὸν ὄλεθρον ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι γενέσθαι, τῷ Θεῷ κακῶς Ἡρώδην θέλποντος. *ib.* §. 2.

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“ and being sent bound to the castle of Machaerus just mentioned,
“ he was slain there. The Jews were of opinion, that the destruc-
“ tion of Herod's armie was a punishment upon him for that action,
“ God being displeased with him.”

The genuinnesse of this passage is generally admitted by learned men: though (*d*) Blondell hesitated about it. Tanaquil Faber (*e*) received it very readily.

The genuinnesse of this paragraph may be argued in the following manner.

It is quoted, or referred to, by Origen in his books against Celsus. “ Besides (*f*) says that ancient writer, I would have Celsus, who personates a Jew, who after a sort admits John the Baptist, and that he baptized Jesus, to consider, that an author, who wrote not long after the time of John and Jesus, says, that John was a Baptist, and that he baptised for the remission of sins. For in the eighth book of his Jewish Antiquities Josephus bears witness to John, that he was a Baptist, and promised purification to those who were baptised.”

Here it may be objected, that Origen supposes Josephus to say, that *John promised purification*, or forgiveness of sins, to those who were baptized: whereas Josephus says of John, that he *taught the people to make use of baptism, not for the expiation of their sins, but for the purity of the body*.

But I do not think that a sufficient reason, why we should hesitate to allow, that Origen refers to the passage, which we now have in Josephus. Certainly, Origen did not design to say, or intimate, that John promised to men the forgiveness of their sins, barely upon

(*d*) *Des Sibylles. l. 1. ch. vii. p. 28. 29.*

(*e*) *Fab. ap. Haverc. p. 269. 270.*

(*f*) Ἐβελόμην δ' ἂν Κέλσῳ, προσωποποιήσαντι τὸν Ἰεδοῶν παραδειζόμενον πᾶς Ἰωάννην ὡς βαπτιστὴν, βαπτίζοντα τὸν Ἰησοῦν, εἰπεῖν· ὅτι τὸ Ἰωάννην γεγονέναι βαπτιστὴν, εἰς ἄρεσιν ἀμαρτημάτων βαπτίζοντα, ἀνέγραφέ τις τῶν

μετ' ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦ γεγονημένων. Ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς Ἰεδοῶν ἀρχαιολογίας ὁ Ἰάσηπος μαρτυρεῖ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ὡς βαπτιστῇ γεγονομένῳ, καὶ καθάρσιον τοῖς βαπτισαμένοις ἐπαγγελλομένῳ. *Contr. Cels. l. 1. §. 47. p. 35.*

on their being baptized : but only upon the condition that they repented, or, as the phrase is in the Gospels, that *they brought forth fruits meet for repentance* : or, as in Josephus, *the mind being first purified by righteousness*. I therefore proceed.

This passage of Josephus is distinctly, and largely quoted by (g) Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical Historie.

Jerome (h) also must be allowed to refer to the same in his book of Illustrious Men : though he does it very inaccurately.

This passage was read in Josephus by (i) Photius, as is apparent.

I do not think it needfull for me to refer to any more ancient authors. But I shall consider some difficulties.

Obj. 1. In the first place it has been said, that this passage interrupts the course of the narration.

In answer to which I must say, that I do not perceive it. The connexion is very good, in my opinion.

Obj. 2. Secondly, it is objected, that in the preceding section *Machaerus* is spoken of as subject to Aretas. Therefore John the Baptist could not be sent prisoner thither by Herod the Tetrarch.

To which I answer. It is there said to be *subject to Aretas, father of Herod's wife*. τότε πατρὶ αὐτῆς ὑποτελῆ. But it is also there said, *to be in the borders of the government of Aretas and Herod* : μεθόριον δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς τε Ἀρέτα καὶ Ἡρώδου ἀρχῆς.

The historie in that very section does not lead us to think, that Machaerus was in the possession of Aretas, but of Herod. It is thus. “ Herod's wife, daughter of Aretas, having discovered the agree-

(g) *H. E. l. i. cap. xi.*

(h) Hic in decimo octavo Antiquitatum libro manifestissime confitetur, propter magnitudinem signorum Christum a Pha-

rifacis interfectum : et Johannem Baptistam vere prophetam fuisse. *De V. I. cap. xiii.*

(i) *Cod. 238. p. 972.*

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“ ment he had made with Herodias, to come and live with him, and
 “ having discovered it before he had notice of her knowledge of the
 “ design: she desired him to send her to Machaerus, a place in the
 “ borders of the dominions of Aretas and Herod: without inform-
 “ ing him of her intentions. Accordingly Herod sent her thither,
 “ as thinking his wife had not perceived any thing of the affair.”

By that means she got to her father. But hence, I think, it may be collected, that Machaerus was not then a part of her father's dominions. For, if it had, her request to be sent thither, would have occasioned suspicions in Herod's mind. Moreover it may be argued from many things in Josephus, that Machaerus was now in the possession of Herod the Tetrarch. It belonged to his father Herod the Great, who had both adorned it, and fortified it. And it was in the hands of the Jewish people during the time of the war, and was (*k*) one of the last places, that were taken by the Romans after the siege of Jerusalem was over.

Obj. 3. According to our Evangelists, the daughter of Herodias obtained the promise of John the Baptist's head at the time of a public entertainment. And it was delivered to her presently. But how could that be done, if John was imprisoned at Machaerus, at a great distance from Herod's court?

To which I answer, *first*, that Herod the Tetrarch may have kept his birth-day, and made that entertainment at *Machaerus*. For his father, Herod the Great, had built a palace there, with large and beautifull (*l*) apartments. Says Tillemont: “ We (*m*) learn from
 “ Josephus, that he was beheaded, at Machaerus, where it is easily
 “ supposed, that Herod made his feast. [*Mald. in Matt. p. 304. a.*]
 “ For it was a palace, as well as a citadel.” *Secondly*, supposing the entertainment to have been made at the capital city of Galilee, the
 promise

(*k*) *Vid. De B. J. l. 7. cap. vi.*

λυτελής, κ. λ. *De B. J. l. 7. c. vi. §. 2.*

(*l*) Μέσση δὲ τῶ περιβόλῃ βασιλείῃ ἐκαστὸν
 μῆστρον, μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει τῶν οἰκήσεων πο-

(*m*) *S. Jean Baptiste, art. viii. p. 101.*
Mem. Ec. T. i.

promise might be made at the time of the entertainment: but the execution might be deferred till the next day, or till several days after.

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Obj. 4. Still it may be said, that this paragraph contradicts our Evangelists. For, according to them, it was at the solicitation of Herodias, and her daughter, that John was beheaded. But here it is said, that Herod put John to death, because he feared, he might be the cause of a sedition.

But there is no inconsistency in these things. For Herod might, as is said in this paragraph, have apprehensions from John's popularity, and be disposed, upon that account, to take him off. Lesser differences there may be in several historians, who write of the same matter with different views. And some circumstances may be mentioned by one writer, which are omitted by others.

I shall give an instance from the writings of the New Testament. Acts ix. 22 . . . 25. *But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving, that this is very Christ. And after that many days were fulfilled, the Jews took counsel to kill him. But their lying in wait was known to Saul. And they watched the gates day and night to kill him. Then the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket. So says St. Luke.* Let us now observe St. Paul himself. 2 Cor. xi. 31 . . . 33. *The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for evermore, knoweth that I lie not. In Damascus the Governour under Aretas the King, guarded the city of the Damascenes, desirous to apprehend me. And through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped him.* St. Luke and St. Paul write of the same thing, as is apparent, and is allowed by all Commentators and Ecclesiastical Historians. Nevertheless here is a very considerable difference of circumstances. St. Paul says nothing of *the Jews*, and St. Luke says nothing of *the Governour of Damascus*. But we can conclude from St. Paul, that the Jews had engaged the Governour in their interest, who with his sol-

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diers kept strict guard at all the gates of the city. But there was a window, or opening, in some part of the wall, to which his friends had access: and through that they let him down by the side of the wall, in a basket, held by a rope, and he escaped. The danger was very pressing. And the Apostle was much affected with it.

So far from contradicting the Evangelists, this account in the paragraph greatly confirms them. In the preceding paragraph Josephus assures us of the unlawfull contract made by Herod, that Herodias should leave her first husband, and come and live with him. In this paragraph he gives an account of John's doctrine very agreeable to that in the Gospels: That he earnestly recommended the practise of righteousness toward men, and piety toward God: that he taught men, not to rely on baptism, or any other external rites, for the forgiveness of their sins, unless their minds were also purified by righteousness. And he assures us, that John was in great esteem with the Jewish people. The same is also said by our Evangelists, who tell us, that *all men held John for a Prophet*. He likewise says, that John, called the Baptist, was imprisoned by Herod, and afterwards put to death by his order.

We may be the more induced to admit the genuineness of this paragraph, because there is nothing in it out of character. Josephus did not receive our Jesus as the Christ. Nor is there here any mention made of that part of John's character: that he was the forerunner of the Christ, or referred men to him.

There may have been many Jews, who had a great regard for John, and yet did not believe in Jesus as the Christ. St. Paul met with twelve Jews of that sort at Ephesus, about the year of our Lord 53. as appears from a historie at the beginning of Acts xix. *He said unto them: Have ye received the Holy Ghost, since ye believed? They said unto him: We have not so much as heard, whether there be any Holy Ghost. And he said unto them: Unto what then were ye baptised? And they said: unto John's baptism. Then said Paul: John verily baptised with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people,*
that

that they should believe on him, which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus. These men had received John's baptism, as the baptism of repentance, but they had not attended to that other part of his preaching, that they should believe on him who came after him, till they were reminded of it by St. Paul. And then they were presently satisfied. *When they heard this, they were baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus.* And what follows.

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Possibly those men, or most of them, had seen and heard John, and been baptised by him. And left Judea, before Jesus had begun his public ministrie. And being at a distance from the land of Judea, had never had any distinct account of the transactions there. But now, being informed of them, and being open to conviction, they became disciples of Jesus, and believed in him, as the Christ.

But many other Jews, not so well disposed, might stand out. They might retain a great respect for John, as we suppose Josephus to have done, as an holy man, of an austere character, who had recommended the practise of virtue, and had been put to death by the Tetrarch of Galilee, without believing in Jesus as the Christ.

Origen was well acquainted with the Jewish sentiments, having often conversed with their learned men. And in his answer to Celsus he puts him in mind, "that (n) the Jews always make a difference between John and Jesus, and between the death of each of them."

Indeed both were for a while in great repute with the Jewish people. But Jesus had greatly disappointed them, in not assuming the character of a temporal prince, as they expected the Messiah should do. And John was put to death by a prince, not much beloved. But Jesus was crucified at the importunate demand of the Jewish rulers and people in general.

Jo-

(n) . . . ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῷ παρασῆσαι, ὅτι καὶ τὸ τοῦ καὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἰωάννου περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον οὐδὲ γὰρ συνάπτουσι τὴν ἰστορίαν.

Ἰησοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἰστορίαν τῆς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ κολάσεως. *Contr. Cels. l. i. cap. 48. p. 38.*

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Josephus, in the ninth or tenth centurie, though he says nothing of *Jesus Christ*, or *James, the Lord's Brother*, mentions the death of *John the Baptist*, and more agreeably to the Evangelists, than this passage of *Josephus*, which we are considering. He represents the Tetrarch *Herod* as a very wicked prince. He says, "that (o) he "took to himself to be his own wife, the wife of his brother Philip, though his brother was still living, and she had children by him. He killed many wise men in Israel. And he killed that "great priest John, the Baptizer, because he had said to him, It is "unlawfull for thee to have thy brother's wife." Many Jews, as it seems, have respected John the Baptist, as an eminently good man, without allowing him to have any connexions with *Jesus Christ*.

Concern-
ing *Jesus*
Christ.

II. In the same eighteenth book of *Josephus's Jewish Antiquities*, but in a chapter, preceding that, in which is the account of John the Baptist, just considered, is this paragraph.

"At (p) that time lived *Jesus*, a wise man, if he may be called "a man. For he performed many wonderfull works. He was a "teacher of such men as received the truth with pleasure. He drew "over to him many Jews, and Gentils. This was the *Christ*. And "when *Pilate*, at the instigation of the chief men among us, had con-
"demned

(o) Ipse accepit uxorem Philippi fratris sui adhuc viventis in uxorem, licet illa haberet filios ex fratre ejus: eam, inquam, accepit sibi in uxorem. Occidit autem multos sapientes Israel. Occidit etiam Jochanan Sacerdotem magnum ob id quod dixerat ei: Non licet tibi accipere uxorem fratris tui Philippi in uxorem. Occidit ergo Jochananem Baptistam. *Joseph. l. 6. cap. 63. p. 274.*

(p) Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τῶτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, ἔγχε ἀνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρί. Ἦν

γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδουῆ τ' ἀληθείᾳ δεχομένων. Καὶ πολλὰς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ τῆ Ἑλληνικῆ ἐπηγάγετο. Ὁ Χριστὸς ἔτος ἦν. Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, σαυρῶ ἐπιτετιμμηκότος· Πιλάτε, ἐκ ἐπαύσαντο διγχε πρώτων αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες. Εὐάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ξῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα ψευδία θαυμάσια περὶ αὐτῆς ἐπισηκότων. Εἰς ἔτι νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ ρῶλον. *Antiq. Jud. l. 18. cap. iii. §. 3.*

“ demned him to the crosse ; they who before had conceived an affection for him, did not cease to adhere to him. For on the third day he appeared to them alive again, the divine prophets having foretold these and many other wonderfull things concerning him. And the sect of the Christians, so called from him, subsists to this time.”

This passage is received by (r) many learned men, as genuine. By others (s) it is rejected, as an interpolation. It is allowed on all hands, that it is in all the copies of Josephus's Works, now extant, both printed and manuscript. Nevertheless it may be for several reasons called in question. They are such as these.

1. This paragraph is not quoted, nor referred to by any Christian writers, before Eusebius, who flourished at the begining of the fourth centurie and afterwards.

If it had been originally in the works of Josephus, it would have been highly proper to produce it in their disputes with Jews and Gentils. But it is never quoted by *Justin Martyr*, or *Clement of Alexandria*, nor by *Tertullian*, or *Origen*, men of great learning, and well acquainted with the works of Josephus. It was certainly very proper to urge it against the Jews. It might also have been fitly alleged against Gentils. A testimonie so favorable to Jesus in the works of Josephus, who lived so soon after the time of our Saviour, who was so well acquainted with the transactions of his own countrey, who had received so many favours from Vespasian and Titus, could not be overlooked, or neglected by any Christian Apologist.

If

(r) *Cav. H. L. in Josepho. Hist. Dem. Ev. Prop. iii. p. 32. &c. Fab. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. vi. Tom. 3. Whiston in his first dissertation. Spanhem. Opp. T. i. p. 531. Tillem. Ruine des Juifs, art. 81. and note al. H. E. Tom. i.*

(s) *J. Ittigii Prolegom. ap. Havercamp: p. 89. Blondel des Sibylles. p. 18. Tan. Faber. ap. Havercamp. p. 267. &c. Cleric. H. E. An. 25. n. iv. et Ars Crit. P. 3. cap. xiv.*

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If this passage had related only to some one of the first followers of Jesus, the omission had not been so remarkable. But it relates to Jesus himself. It declares his proper character, his miracles, his crucifixion, and resurrection, and that all this was agreeable to the predictions of the Prophets.

This passage is not only not quoted by *Origen*: but we can perceive, that he had it not. For in the words next following the notice taken of John the Baptist, as mentioned by Josephus, and before quoted by us, he adds: “The (*t*) same writer, though he did not believe Jesus to be the Christ, inquiring into the cause of the overthrow of Jerusalem, and the demolition of the temple, when he ought to have said, that their attempt upon Jesus was the cause of the ruin of that people, forasmuch as they had put to death the Christ before prophesied of: he, as it were unwillingly, and not erring far from the truth says: These things befell the Jews in vindication of James called the Just, who was the brother of Jesus called the Christ: forasmuch as they killed him who was a most righteous man. That James is the same, whom Paul, that genuine disciple of Jesus, says, he had seen, and calls the Lord’s brother, [Gal. i. 19.] not so much for the sake of consanguinity, as their common education, and agreement in manners and doctrine. If (*u*) therefore he says, the destruction of Jerusalem had befallen the Jews for the sake of James; with how much more reason might he have said, that this had happened for the sake of Jesus, who was the Christ, to whose divinity so many churches bear witness: who being now recovered from the pollutions of vice, have given up themselves to the Creator, and endeavour to please him in all things.”

Afterwards,

(*t*). Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς, κρίτοιγε ἀπιστῶν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὡς Χριστῷ, ζητῶν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πτώσεως, καὶ τῆς τῶ νῦν καθαιρέσεως· δέον αὐτὸν εἶπεν, ὅτι ἡ τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἐπιβουλὴ τέτων αἰτίᾳ γέγονε τῷ λαῷ, ἑσθ' ἀπέκτειναν τὸν προφητευ-

όμενον Χριστόν. κ. λ. *Contr. Cels. l. i. c. 47. p. 35.*

(*u*) Εἰπερ ἔν διὰ Ἰάκωβον συμβεβηκέναι λέγει τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, κ. λ. *ib.*

Afterwards, in his second book against Celsus, he argues our Saviour's knowledge of futurities from his predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, which had not been effected till the times of Vespasian and Titus. "Which (x) as Josephus writes, happened upon account of James the Just, the brother of Jesus called the Christ: but in truth upon account of Jesus the Christ, the Son of God."

Origen speaks again to the like purpose in his commentarie upon St. Matthew, and says, "that (y) this James, the same that is mentioned by Paul in his epistle to the Galatians [i. 19.] was so respected by the people for his righteousness, that Flavius Josephus, who wrote the Jewish Antiquities in twenty books, being desirous to assign the cause, why that people suffered such things, so that even their temple was demolished to the foundations, says, that those things had happened, because of the anger of God against them for what they had done to James the brother of Jesus called the Christ. And it is wonderfull, that he who did not receive our Jesus as the Christ, should ascribe such righteousness to James. He says, that the people also were of opinion, that they suffered these things upon account of James."

After Origen, the same saying of Josephus concerning James is also alleged by (z) Eusebius, and (a) Jerome: but without saying, any more than Origen, what work of Josephus, or what book of his works, it was in.

There is not now any thing of that kind in any of his works. Nor is it easily conceivable, that (b) there ever was. But what I
now

(x) ... ὡς μὲν Ἰώσηπος γράφει, διὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ· ὡς δὲ ἡ ἀλήθεια παρίστησι, διὰ Ἰησοῦ τὸν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ. *Contr. Cels.* l. 2. §. 13 p. 69.

(y) *Comm. in Matt. Tom. x. §. 17. p. 463. T. 3. Bened. T. i. p. 223. Huet.*

(z) *H. E. l. 2. cap. xxiii. p. 65.*

(a) Tradit idem Josephus, tantae eum sanctitatis fuisse, et celebritatis in populo, ut propter ejus necem creditum sit, subversam esse Hierosolymam. *De V. l. cap. 2. vid. et cap. 13.*

(b) Quod vero attinet ad ista, ταῦτα
συμ-

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now allege these passages of Origen for, is to shew, that it may be hence evidently and certainly concluded, that Origen never read in Josephus that testimonie to Jesus, which we now have in his works.

I have above mentioned no other Latin author, but *Tertullian*, to (c) whom Josephus was well known. But I might have also insisted upon the silence of the other Latin Apologists for Christianity, of the first three centuries, as *Minucius Felix*, *Cyprian*, *Arnobius*, and *Lactantius*. To whom so extraordinarie a testimonie to our Saviour, in so celebrated a Jewish writer, would not have been unknown, if it had been in him.

Eusebius, then, who flourished about the year of Christ 315. and afterwards, is the first Christian writer, in whom this paragraph is found. And by him (d) it is twice quoted at large. After him, as is well known, it is quoted by (e) *Jerome*, (f) *Sozomen*, and many other following writers.

But it is observable, that this paragraph is never quoted by *Chrysostom*: Whom I suspect to have had but little regard for Eusebius of Cesarea. He several times refers to Josephus, as a proper writer, from whom men might learn what miseries the Jewish people had undergone in their war with the Romans, *he (g) not being a believer, but a Jew, and zealous for the Jewish rites even after the rise of Christianity.*

συμβέβηκεν Ἰουδαίῳ κατα' ἐκδίκησιν Ἰακώβου
τὸ δικάζειν. κ. λ. quæ tanquam a Josepho
probata in Antiquitatum libris, affert Ori-
genes, . . et ex eo, ut puto, Eusebius, ali-
ique, verisimile est, ea referri debere
μνημονιῶ δμαρτήματι Origenis . . . Certe
nullibi, quod sciam, haberi potuerunt in
Antiquitatibus, ut quæ non agant de Hi-
erosophymorum excidio. *Hudsen. annot. ad*
Jos. Antiq. l. 20. cap. ix. §. 1. p. 976. ed.
Hav. Vid. et Cleric. Ars Crit. P. 3. cap.
xiv. §. 8. 9. 10.

(c) . . et qui istos aut probat aut revin-

cit Judæus Josephus, antiquitatum Ju-
daicarum vernaculus vindex. *Tert. Ap.*
c. 19. p. 19.

(d) *H. E. l. 1. cap. xi. Dem. Ev. l. 3.*
p. 124.

(e) *De V. l. cap. 13.*

(f) *Soz. l. 1. cap. i. p. 399.*

(g) . . καὶ γὰρ Ἰουδαῖος ἦν, καὶ σφόδρα Ἰουδα-
ῖος, καὶ ζήλωτής, καὶ τῶν μετὰ τὴν Χρυσῆ πα-
γεσίαν. *In Matt. hom. 76. al. 77. T. 7. p.*
732. Vid. et in Matt. hom. 75. al. 76. p.
727. et in Jo. hom. 64. al. 65. T. 8. p.
390.

stianity. He refers likewise (*b*) to what Josephus says of John the Baptist: though inaccurately, as must be acknowledged. But he never takes any notice of this testimonie to *JESUS*. Which, surely, he would not have omitted, in his many arguments with the Jews, if he had been acquainted with it, and had supposed it to be genuine.

Some have supposed, that this testimonie of Josephus was alleged by *Macarius* in the time of Diocletian. But Fabricius (*i*) has honestly, and judiciously observed, that there is no reason to take that passage of *Macarius* for genuine.

2. This paragraph was wanting in the copies of Josephus, which were seen by *Photius* in the ninth centurie.

I make a distinct article of this writer, because he read, and revised the works of Josephus, as a critic. He has in his Bibliothèque (*k*) no less than three articles concerning Josephus, but takes no notice of this passage. Whence it may be concluded, that it was wanting in his copies, or that he did not think it genuine. But the former is the more likely. He refers to the passage concerning John the Baptist in this manner. “ This (*l*) Herod, Tetrarch of Galilee and “ Peroea, son of Herod the Great, is he who put to death the great “ John, the fore-runner, because, as Josephus says, he was afraid, he
X 2 “ would

(*b*) In *Jo. hom.* 12. al. 13. *T.* 8. p. 73. A.

(*i*) Hoc Josephi loco non utuntur Justinus, Tertullianus, Chrysostomus, alique complures, quando contra Judæos disputant. Non produxit Origenes, alia Josephi laudans in libris contra Celsum. Nec Photius quidem tanto junior meminit, in cujus Bibl. Antiquitates Josephi bis recensentur. cod. 76. et 238. Ante Eusebium tamen . . . allegaverit illum Macarius quidam cubiculi imperatorii prae-
fec-

tus, siquidem genuinus sit hujus ad Diocletianum sermo, qui refertur in Actis Sanctorum Macarii a Cl. viro W. E. Tenselio, primum in Dialogis mensuris Germanice editis, A. 1697. p. 556. Sed merito existimandum, haec Acta martyriis Macariani, si non longe post Diocletianum plane conficta, saltem interpolata, atque locum Josephi insertum a recentiore manu esse. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. T.* 3. p. 237.

(*k*) Cod. 48. 76. et 238.

(*l*) Cod. 238. p. 973.

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“ would stir up the people to rebellion. For all men paid great regard to John upon account of his transcendent virtue. In his time also our Saviour suffered.” How fair an occasion had Photius here to refer also to the testimonie given to Jesus, which we now have, if he had seen it? Upon this article of Photius the very learned *Ittigius* in his *Prolegomena* to *Josephus* (*m*) has just remarks, invincibly asserting the absolute silence of this great critic concerning this paragraph of *Josephus*.

And very observable is what Photius says in his article of *Justus* of *Tiberias*. “ This (*n*) writer, laboring under the common prejudice of the Jews, and being himself a Jew, makes not any the least mention of the coming of Christ, or the things concerning him, or the miracles done by him.” This is very remarkable. This silence of *Justus* concerning our Saviour was not peculiar to him, but was common to other Jewish writers with him, very probably intending *Josephus*. If *Josephus* had been an exception, he would not have been omitted, but would have been expressly mentioned.

3. This paragraph concerning Jesus interrupts the course of the narration. And therefore is not genuine, but is an interpolation.

In the preceding paragraph *Josephus* gives an account of an attempt of Pilate to bring water from a distant place to Jerusalem with the sacred money : Which occasioned a disturbance, in which many Jews were killed, and many others were wounded.

The paragraph next following this, about which we are now speaking, begins thus. “ And (*o*) about the same time another sad calamity gave the Jews great uneasiness.” That calamity was no less

(*m*) *Ap. Havercamp. p. 89.*

(*n*) ὡς δὲ τὰ Ἰουδαίων νοσῶν, Ἰουδαῖος τε καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων τὸ γένος, τῆς Χριστοῦ παρουσίας, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν τελεσθέντων, καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐ-

τοῦ τετελεργηθέντων, ἑδυνὸς ὅλως μνήμην ἐποιήσατο. *Cod. 33. p. 20.*

(*o*) Καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς χρόνος ἑτερόν τι δέον ἐθορύβη τὸς Ἰουδαίους. *L. 18. cap. 3. §. 4.*

less than banishing the Jews from Rome by order of the Emperour Tiberius: “ occasioned (*p*) as he says, by the misconduct of some Jews in that city.”

This paragraph therefore was not originally in Josephus. It does not come from him. But it is an interpolation inserted by some body afterwards. This argument must be of great weight with all, who are well acquainted with the writings of Josephus, who is a cool and sedate writer, very exact in connecting his narrations, and never failing to make transitions, where they are proper, or need-full.

I believe, it is not easie to instance in another writer, who is so exact in all his pauses and transitions, or so punctual in the notice he gives, when he has done with one thing, and goes on to another. That must make this argument the stronger.

Tillemont was very sensible of this difficulty, though he thinks, that the writers, who maintain the genuinnesse of this passage, have made good their point. “ It (*q*) must be owned, however, says he, “ that there is one thing embarrassing in this passage, which is, that “ it interrupts the course of the narration in Josephus. For that “ which immediatly follows begins in these terms. *About the same “ time there happened another misfortune, which disturbed the Jews.* “ For those words, *another misfortune*, have no connexion with what “ was just said of Jesus Christ: which is not mentioned as an unhappiness. And on the contrarie, it has a very natural reference “ to what precedes in that place: which is a sedition, in which many Jews were killed, or wounded. Certainly it is not so easie to “ answer to this difficulty, as to the others. I wish, that Mr. Huet, “ and Mr. Roie had stated this objection, and given satisfaction upon “ it. As for my-self, I know not what to say to it: but that Josephus “ himself might insert this passage after his work was finished. And “ he

(*p*) Καὶ ἐν μὲν διὰ κακίαν τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν ἐλάυνοντο τῆς πόλεως. §. 5. *fin.*

(*q*) Ruins des Juifs. note xl. Hist. des Emp. Tom. i.

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“ he did not then think of a more proper place for it, than this,
“ where he passed from what happened in Judea under Pilate to
“ somewhat that was done at the same time at Rome. And he for-
“ got to alter the transition, which he had made at first.”

Undoubtedly, the difficulty presses very hard, which will allow
of no better solution.

4. Let us now observe the paragraph itself, and consider, whe-
ther it be suitable, or unsuitable, to the general character of Jose-
phus.

*At the same time lived Jesus, a wise man, if he may be called a
man. For he performed many wonderfull works.*

But, why (*r*) should Josephus scruple to call Jesus *a man*? Were
not Moses, Elijah, Elisha, and other prophets, men? The wonder-
full works, done by them, were not done by their own power, but
by the power of God, bearing testimonie to their commission, or
supporting them in the execution of it. Moreover Moses himself,
who (*s*) is so highly extolled and magnified by Josephus, is (*t*) often
called by him a man. Why then should he scruple to say the same
of Jesus? However, it should be owned, that he has this expression
concerning Moses: “ So (*u*) that his legislation, which was from
“ God, made this man to be thought superior to his own nature.”

He

(*r*) Sed quo judicio scriptum est quod
sequitur : ἔγχε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρί.
Quaenam, quaeso, ratio est? Quia, in-
quit, παραδύξαν ἔργων ποιητής ἦν. Itaque
adeo, quando ita vult, dubitabitur in pos-
terum a nobis, dii an homines appellandi
sint Moses, Elias, Elisaeus? Nam et illi
fuerunt παραδύξαν ἔργων ποιηταί. Dein-
de, cum ait ἔγχε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρί,
quid, quaeso, aliud innuere vult, nisi Je-
sum Dominum esse Deum? In quo gra-
viter errat hic pius impostor. Judaci e-

nim ne suspicabantur quidem, Messiam
seu Christum fore Deum, sed praestantis-
simum aliquem principem ex semine Da-
vidis. *Tan. Fab. ap. Havercamp. Joseph.*
p. 269.

(*s*) *Antiq. l. 3. cap. xv. l. 4. cap. viii.*
et alibi.

(*t*) Θαυμαστὸς δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ. κ. λ.
Ant. l. 3. c. xv. §. 3.

(*u*) "Ουτως ἡ νομοθεσία τῷ Θεῷ δοκῶσα
τὸν ἄνδρα πεποίηκε τῆς αὐτῆ φύσεως κρείττονα
νομίζεσθαι. *Ibid.*

He was a teacher of such men, as received the truth with pleasure.

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Very honorable to Jesus, and his followers ! But would Josephus say this of them ? And would he call the Christian Religion *the truth* ?

He drew over to him many Jews and Gentils.

That is not true of the Lord Jesus, if intended of his own personal preaching, before his crucifixion. It was done indeed afterwards. But this manner of speaking is more suitable to a writer of the second, or third centurie, than to Josephus.

This was the Christ.

Jerome in his article of Josephus, in his book of Illustrious Men, quoting this passage, puts it thus : *And (x) he was believed to be the Christ.* Which is a qualifying expression, for which there is no ground. Nor (y) did Sophronius, Jerome's Greek interpreter, follow that translation, but puts it, as it is in Eusebius, and other Greek (z) writers. *This was the Christ.* But, it cannot be supposed, that Josephus either thought, or said, that Jesus was the Christ.

It follows : *And when Pilate at the instigation of the chief men among us had condemned him to the crosse : they who before had conceived an affection for him, did not cease to adhere to him. For on the third day he appeared to them alive again, the divine prophets having foretold these and many other wonderfull things concerning him.*

All must be sensible, that this could not be said by any man, but a professed Christian. Which Josephus was not. Therefore he could not write this.

And the sect of the Christians, so called from him, subsists to this day.

Which Mr. Whiston translates in this manner. *And the tribe of Christians, so named from him, are not extinct at this day.* But Mr. W. . . who thinks this passage to be Josephus's, should not have rendered

(x) et credebatur esse Christus.

(y) 'Ο Χριστός ἔσται ἡμεῖς.

(z) See particularly Sozomen, l. I. cap. i. p. 399.

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dred φυλον *tribe* : because φυλη is the word always used by Josephus for *tribe*. And φυλον, which we have here, always signifies *nation* (*a*) in Josephus. Nor were the Christians a *nation*, or political society in the first three centuries.

Here it is put for *sect*. It cannot signify any thing else in this place. Jesus is called a *wise man*, and is said to have been a *teacher of such as received the truth with pleasure*. And though he had been crucified, *they who had before conceived an affection for him, did not cease to adhere to him, because he appeared to them alive again*.

Here the word denotes *sect*. But αἵρεσις *heresie*, is the word generally used by Josephus, in speaking (*b*) of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essens, the three prevailing sects, or different ways of philosophizing among the Jews.

The phrase (*c*) χριστιανῶν φύλον, here used, resembles the phrase χριστιανῶν ἔθνος, which was in use, in the time of Eusebius, at the beginning of the fourth centurie, and denotes *the sect of the Christians*.

Moreover, the expression, *subsists to this time, or, is not extinct at this day*, imports a considerable space of time, since the crucifixion of Jesus. And does very reasonably lead us to think, that the composer of this paragraph lived later than Josephus.

These considerations, as seems to me, are sufficient to determine the point in question, and to satisfy all men, that Josephus was not the author of this paragraph. However, I shall add one consideration more.

5. If Josephus were the author of this paragraph, it would be reasonable

(a) . . . ὅπως καὶ πόλεις, τὸ πολεμικώτατον φύλον. *De B. J. l. 2. c. 16. §. 4. p. 189. Hav. Πῦν ὁμῶν τὸ φύλον. Ib. p. 191. et passim.*

(b) *Vid. De B. J. l. 2. cap. viii. Ant. Jud. l. 13. cap. v. §. 9. cap. x. §. 5. l. 14. cap. i. Et passim.*

(c) . . . τῷ ἔθνει τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐαυτοὺς συμμιχότας. *Maximin. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 9. cap. ix. p. 360. G. . . ad Christianorum sectam se applicuisse cernerent. Vales.*

reasonable to expect in him frequent mention of Christ's miracles. Whereas, he is every where silent about them.

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Josephus was a Pharisee. He believed the miracles of Moses, and the Jewish Prophets. He believed a Divine Providence, superintending human affairs, the immortality of the soul, and the rewards of a future state. And he is willing enough to relate extraordinarie things, or such things as had an appearance of being so.

Therefore (c) he tells a storie of *Eleazar's* dispossessing a demon by virtue of some incantations, and the use of a certain root called *Baanas*.

Therefore (d) he relates a dream of *Archelaus*, and then another of *Glaphyra*, as very extraordinarie, as (e) confirming the doctrine of the immortality of souls, and the belief of a Divine Providence, concerning itself about human affairs. Those dreams are related by him both in the historie of the Jewish War, and in his Antiquities. And yet that dream of *Glaphyra* is now considered (f) by divers learned men, as a mere fiction.

I might refer to another silly storie of the fulfilment of a prediction of *Judas*, an *Essen*: which (g) is related by him also in both those works, the War and the Antiquities.

Would any man please himself with such poor things as these, and relate them to the world, as matters of importance, if he had any respect for the doctrine and miracles of Jesus Christ? No. He was either unacquainted with them, or resolutely silent about them.

(c) *Vid. de B. J. l. 7. cap. vi. Ant. l. 8. cap. ii. §. 5.*

(d) *Antiq. l. 17. cap. xiii. §. 3. 4. 5. De B. Jud. l. 2. cap. vii.*

(e) ... τῷτε ἀμφὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ἀθανάσι-
ας ἐμφορῆς, καὶ τῷ θεῷ προμνηθεῖα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα
παρρηληρότος τῇ αὐτῇ, καλῶς ἔχεν ἐνόμισα
εἰπέν. *Ant. l. 17. xiii. 5.*

(f) *Vid. Noris. Genotaph. Pif. Diff. 2. cap. xii. p. 238. et le Clerc. Bib. Ch. T. iv. p. 60.*

(g) *De B. J. l. 1. cap. iii. §. 4. 5. Ant. l. 13. cap. xi. §. 2.*

A. D. 76. And never can be supposed author of the honorable testimonie here bore to Jesus as the Christ.

Supposing these arguments to be of great weight, some may ask, how this paragraph came to be in the works of Josephus? In that case I should answer, that probably some learned christian, who had read the works of Josephus, thinking it strange, that this Jewish historian should say nothing of Jesus Christ, wrote this paragraph in the margin of his copie, and thence it came to be afterwards inserted into many copies of the works of Josephus. But for a good while it was not in all. And therefore *Photius* did not see it in that copie, which he made use of.

Who was the first author of this interpolation, cannot be said. *Tanaquil Faber* (*b*) suspected Eusebius. I do not charge it upon him. But I think it was first made about his time. For, if I am not mistaken, we have seen sufficient reason to believe, that this paragraph was not quoted by Origen, nor by any ancient Christian writer before Eusebius, that we have any knowledge of.

Though many learned men have maintained the genuinenesse of this paragraph, others have rejected it. And for avoiding the charge of singularity, and for giving satisfaction to some scrupulous persons, I shall, beside the authors (*i*) before referred to, transcribe at the bottom of the page (*k*) the observations of *Vitringa*. And I add the judgement

(*b*) Itaque constat necesse est, id intra illud tempus admissum fuisse, quod ab Origene ad Eusebium fluxit. Mihi autem imprimis credibile fit, auctorem hujus τεχνάσματος esse Eusebium. *Faber ap. Havercamp. p. 272.*

(*i*) See p. 151. note (*s*).

(*k*) Sed vehementer dubito, post doctissimas etiam Huetii curas, an non hic

foetus Josepho sit suppositus, et ab aliena manu in textum intrusus. Utique pro certo et indubio habeo, totum locum, ut nunc apud Josephum habetur, e calamo Josephi non effluxisse: sed si omnino Josephus Christi Jesu hoc in contextu meminert, locum a manu Christiana esse interpolatum mutatumque. Quod jam si dicamus, ne sic quidem omnis sublata erit diffi-

judgement of Dr. Warburton, now Bishop of Gloucester, who has expressed himself upon the subject in very clear and strong terms.

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“ If a Jew, says (l) his Lordship, owned the truth of Christianity, he must needs embrace it. We, therefore, certainly conclude, that the passage, where Josephus, who was as much a Jew as the religion of Moses could make him, is made to acknowledge, that *Jesus is the Christ*, in as strong terms as words could do it, is a rank forgerie, and a very stupid one too.”

III. There is yet one passage more in the works of Josephus, which ought to be here taken notice of. It is in the twentieth book of his Antiquities, and to this purpose.

Concern-
ing James,
the Lord's
Brother.

“ The (m) Emperour having been informed of the death of Festus, sent Albinus to be prefect in Judea. And the King [meaning Agrippa the younger,] took away the high-priesthood from Joseph, and bestowed that dignity upon the son of Ananus, who also was named Ananus. . . This younger Ananus, who, as we said just now, was made High-Priest, was (n) haughty in his behaviour, and very enterprising. And moreover, he was of the sect of the Sadducees, who, as we have also observed before, are above all other Jews severe in their judicial sentences. This then being the temper of Ananus, and he thinking he had a fit opportunity, because Festus was dead, and Albinus was yet upon the road, calls

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difficultas : sed restat longe maxima de cohaeretia horum verborum Josephi, quibus Christo testimonium perhibet cum sequentibus: *Circa eadem tempora aliud etiam Judaeos turbavit incommodum, &c.* Quae tamen verba, si testimonium de Christo e contextu Josephi sustuleris, egregie cum praecedentibus conspirabunt. Ad quam difficultatem removendam nuper nihil aliud a doctissimo Tillemontio

produci potuit, quam verba Josephi, quae de Christo agunt, contextui παρενθικῶς inserta esse. In quo tamen dubito, an docti acquieturi sint. *Vitring. Observ. Sacr. l. 4. cap. 7. §. xi. p. 971.*

(l) See *Divine Legation of Moses*, B. 2. Sect. 6. p. 295. vol. i.

(m) *L. 20. cap. ix. §. 1.*

(n) θρασὺς ἦν τὸν τρόπον, καὶ ταλμητὴς διαφερόντως.

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“(o) a council of judges. And bringing before them James the brother of him who is called Christ, and some others, he accused them as transgressors of the laws, and had them stoned to death. But the most moderate men of the city, who also were reckoned most skilfull in the laws, were offended at this proceeding. They therefore sent privately to the King, [*Agrippa before mentioned,*] entreating him to send orders to Ananus, no more to attempt such things. And some went away to meet Albinus, who was coming from Alexandria, and put him in mind, that Ananus had no right to call a Council without his leave. Albinus approving of what they said, wrote to Ananus in much anger, threatening to punish him for what he had done. And King Agrippa took away from him the high-priesthood, after he had enjoyed it three months, and put in Jesus, the son of Damnaeus.”

This passage is cited from Josephus by (p) *Eusebius*, and from the 20. book of his *Antiquities*. It is also quoted by (q) *Jerome*, but very inaccurately. We perceive likewise, that (r) it was in the copies of Josephus, in the time of *Photius*.

Nevertheless there are learned men of good judgement, who (s) think, that the words, which we now have in Josephus, concerning James, are an interpolation.

They were in Josephus in the time of Eusebius, and afterwards. But it does not follow, they were always there. Indeed, there is a good deal of reason to believe, that they were not originally in Josephus.

I have

(o) . . . καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν καὶ παραγαγὼν ἐς αὐτὸ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τῷ λεγομένῳ Χριστῷ, Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ τίνες ἑτέροις, ὡς παρενομισάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος, παρέδωκε λευσθησομένους.

(p) *H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. p. 65. 66.*

(q) *De V. I. cap. ii. De Jacobo fratre Domini.*

(r) . . . ἀνθεντίας καθίζει συνέδριον, καὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ κυρίου, σὺν ἑτέροις, παρανομίαν αἰτιασάμενος, λίθοις ἀναμείβηναι παρασκευάζει. κ. λ. *Phot. cod. 238. p. 977.*

(s) Facile quidem crediderim, Jerosolymitanos proceres graviter tulisse, quod synedrium suâ auctoritate instituisse, cum dudum ius gladii a Romanis esset Judaeis ademptum :

I have elsewhere (t) carefully examined the most ancient accounts of the death of James, called the Just, and the brother of Jesus. Those disquisitions will be of use here. The persons, of whom Josephus speaks, who were tried and condemned by the Jewish council, at the instigation of *Ananus*, were put to death by *stoning*, and probably without the city. But according to the historie of the death of James, given by *Hegeſippus*, a learned Jewish believer, and writer in the second centurie, the death of James was effected in a tumultuous manner. The disturbance began at the temple, and he died there, or near it. Some flung him down, and threw stones at him: but his death was compleated by a blow on the head with a long pole, such as fullers make use of in beating wet cloths. This is said by Clement of Alexandria, in his Institutions, as cited by (u) Eusebius and by (x) Hegeſippus, as cited also by him. That therefore is the true and ancient account of the death of James, the Lord's brother. And the Christians of the second centurie knew nothing of

ademptum: quod iterum inconsulto Caesare ab Anano usurpatum timebant, ne genti suae gravi fortasse poenā luendum esset. Sed quae de *Jacobo, Jesu, qui Christus dicebatur, fratre*, habentur, merum adfumentum, male feriatī Christiani, esse videntur. *Cleric. H. E. ann. 62. n. ii. p. 415.*

Sunt quoque rationes sat graves, quae persuadeant haec fuisse interpolata, et scripsisse duntaxat Josephum: καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτό τινας, καὶ ὡς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποισάμενος. κ. λ. Statutosque coram eo nonnullos, et accusatos perfractae legis, tradidit lapidibus obruendos. *Id. Ars Crit. P. 3. cap. 14. §. 12. Vol. 2. p. 289.*

Illā de Jacobo, *Jesu, qui Christus dicebatur, fratre*. (licet agnata ab Eusebio, aliisque eum sequentibus, disertimque a Pho-

tio.) pro mero adfumento male feriatī Christiani habentur a nonnullis: quam recte, κριτικώτερον esto iudicium. *Hudson. annot. ad Antiq. l. 20. c. ix. §. 1.*

(t) See the third volume of the Supplement, *Ec. p. 25. 26. 27. and p. 36. . . 57.*

(u) Διὸ δὲ γεγόασιν ἰσχυροὶ εἰς τὸ δίκαιος, ὁ κατὰ τῶν πτερυγίων βληθείς, καὶ ὑπὸ κναφέας ξύλων πληγὴς εἰς θάνατον. *Clem. A. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 2. c. i. p. 38. D. Conf. ib. cap. 23. p. 63. C. et 65. C. And see the third vol. of the Supplement to the Credibility, Ec. p. 27. . .*

(x) Καὶ λαβὼν τις ἀπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τῶν γναφῶν τὸ ξύλον ἐν ᾧ ἀπεπίεζε τὰ ἱμάτια, ἤνεγκε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ δίκαιον. Καὶ ἔτως ἐματύρησεν. *Hegeſipp. ap. Euseb. H. E. l. 2. cap. 23. p. 65. B.*

A. D. 76. of that account of his death, which we now have in Josephus. Therefore, probably, there was then nothing in him about it. For if there had, they would not have been ignorant of it.

Moreover, it is very observable, that according to the long and particular historie of the death and martyrdom of *James*, which we have in *Hegesippus*, that Apostle suffered alone. There was no attempt made upon any others, as the passage, now in *Josephus*, intimates. And it is inconsistent with the whole narrative, that any others should be joyned with him.

And that *James* suffered martyrdom, not by order of Council, as now in *Josephus*, but in a tumultuous manner at the Temple, or near it, and by a blow on the head with a fuller's pole, appears to have been the general and prevailing opinion of Christians in the fourth centurie, as well as before. For it is mentioned by (y) *Jerome*, and (z) *Epiphanius*, very agreeably to *Hegesippus*.

In this place therefore *Josephus* gave an account of some, who were accused by *Ananus*, and condemned by his Council, as transgressors of the Jewish laws. And what *Ananus* did was upon several accounts disliked by many discreet and moderate men. But there is not sufficient reason to believe, that *James* was particularly mentioned by him, as one of them.

It is certain, we ought to be very cautious in admitting quotations from *Josephus*, by later Christian writers. For they had a great regard for him, and were fond of having his testimonie, whether there was ground for it, or not. *Theophylact* upon *John* xiii. 33. and referring

(y) Qui cum praecipitatus de pinna templi, contractis cruribus, adhuc semivivus . . . fullonis fuisse quo udae vestimenta extorqueri solent, in cerebro percussus interiit . . . et juxta templum, ubi et praecipitatus fuerat, sepultus est. *Hier. de V. l. cap. 2.*

Qui et ipse postea de Templo a Judaeis praecipitatus successorem habuit Simonem, quem et ipsum tradunt pro Domino crucifixum. *Id. Comm. in ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T. 4. p. 237.*

(z) *Haer. 78. num. xiv. p. 1046.*

referring also to John vii. 34. says, "The (a) Jews sought him, " when their city was taken, and the wrath of God fell upon them, " on all sides: as also Josephus testifies, that those things happened " to them upon account of the death of Jesus."

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So says Theophylact. But from Origen, as before seen, we have good Reason to believe, that there was no such account in the works of Josephus, and that he never said any such thing.

In Suidas is a long article at the word Jesus, where it is said, " that (b) Josephus, who is often quoted by Eusebius Pamphili in " his Ecclesiastical Historie, expressly says, in his historie of the " Jewish War, that Jesus sacrificed with the priests at the temple."

There is no such thing there now. And probably never was in any good copies of the works of Josephus. But as he was an author in great repute with Christians, and he was often appealed to, and too often quoted inaccurately, (of which Jerome, in his (c) article of St. James, is a remarkable instance,) his works were as likely to suffer some interpolations, as any writer's whatever.

Blondel supposed, that to this desire of *making an advantage from Josephus*, we owe the insertion of the remarkable testimonie to Jesus, which we have above so largely considered. What Blondel says, appears to me so judicious, and so apposite to the purpose, that I shall transcribe him below in his own (d) words. And let his judgement

(a) ... ὡς καὶ Ἰωσήπος μαρτυρεῖ, διὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ταῦτα ἀντοῖς γενέσθαι. *In Ev. p. 762. A.*

(b) Εὐρόμεν ἐν Ἰωσήπου, τὸν συγγραφέα τῆς ἀλάστορος Ἱεροσολύμων, (ὃ μνήμην πολλὴν Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησιαστικῇ αὐτοῦ ἱστορίᾳ ποιᾷται) φανερῶς λέγοντα ἐν τοῖς τῆς Αἰχμαλωσίας αὐτοῦ ὑπομνήμασιν, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἡγιάζε. *Suid. V. Ἰησοῦς.*

(c) *De V. I. cap. ii.* To Jerome 'might' have been added Eusebius; and divers o-

ther Christian Writers. Concerning Eusebius's inaccurate quotations of Josephus somewhat was said formerly. *Credib. P. 2. Vol. viii. p. 59. 60.* And they have been observed and censured by Scaliger, and other learned moderns.

(d) A mesme dessein, de tirer avantage de Josephus, quelque main hardie a inseré dans ses Antiquitez. lib. 18. c. 4. des paroles qui luy sont d'autant moins convenables, qu'elles contiennent un témoignage

A. D. 76. ment be added to those of *Vitringa*, and the Bishop of *Gloucester* above quoted.

Concluding Observations upon the Writings and Testimonie of *Josephus*.

IV. Supposing *Josephus* not to have said any thing of *Jesus Christ*, some may ask : What could be the reason of it ? And how can it be accounted for ?

To which I might answer, that such a question is rather more curious, than judicious and important. And it may be difficult to propose a solution, that shall be generally approved of. However, I shall hazard a few observations upon the point.

It is easie to believe, that all Jews, who were contemporarie with *Christ*, or his Apostles, and did not receive *Jesus* as the *Christ*, must have been filled with much enmity against him and his followers. We are assured by early Christian writers, of good credit, such as (e) *Justin Martyr*, (f) *Tertullian*, and others, that the ruling part of the Jewish nation industriously spread abroad false and injurious reports among the nations concerning the followers of *Jesus*. But the polite and learned writers, such as *Justus of Tiberias*, and *Josephus*, might think it expedient to be silent. They had nothing to say against *Jesus*, or the Christians, with any appearance of truth and credibility. They therefore thought it better to be silent, and thereby, if possible, bury them in utter oblivion.

It is not easie to account for the silence of *Josephus* any other (g) way.

moignage honorable, tant de la personne de nostre Seigneur, que de la sainteté et verité du Christianisme, de la profession duquel cét Auteur a toujours esté tres éloigné : et d'ailleurs qu'elles sont notoirement une piece d'attache sans liaison avec le reste de son discours, tant precedant que suivant, et placée à l'endroit qu'elle occupe par affection de parti plustost que par raison. *Blondel Des Sibylles. p. 28.*

(e) *Dial. cum Tryph. p. 234 D. Par. §. 18. p. 102. Bened.*

(f) *Ad Nat. l. i. cap. 13. p. 59. D. et adv. Marcion. l. 3. cap. 23. p. 498.*

(g) Le Cardinal Noris se fâche avec raison contre *Joseph*, de ce qu'il expédie en dix lines les neuf années du regne d'Archelaus . . . pour raconter au long les deux songes, dont on a parlé cidessus. Mais on a encore plus de sujet de se plaindre

way. Many things are omitted by him, of which he could not be ignorant. He must have known of the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem soon after the birth of Jesus. The arrival of the Wise Men from the East, who were conducted by a star, gave concern not only to Herod, but to all Jerusalem. Matt. ii. 8. Josephus was a Priest. He could not but have heard of the vision of *Zacharias* the father of John the Baptist at the temple. Luke i. And it was a thing very proper to have had a place in his historie. The prophecies of *Simeon* and *Anna* at the temple, and other things that happened there about that time, as we may think, must have been well known to him. Then the preaching and miracles of our Saviour and his Apostles at Jerusalem, and in Galilee, and all over Judea: the crucifixion of Jesus at Jerusalem, at the time of a Passover, the darknesse for three hours at Jerusalem, and all over Judea, the death of James the brother of John, at Jerusalem, by Herod Agrippa. All these things must have been well known to him.

Moreover, before Josephus had finished his work of the Jewish Antiquities, or even the historie of the Jewish War, christianity had spread very much in Asia, and in other parts, and at Rome itself, where also many had suffered, and that several years before the final ruin of Jerusalem, and the Jewish nation. The progresse of the Christian Religion was a very considerable event. And it had it's rise in Judea.

The sect of the Christians, which had it's rise in Judea, and consisted partly of Jews, partly of men of other nations, was as numerous, or more numerous, in the time of Josephus, than any of the

indre de la negligence, ou plutôt du silence affecté de cet Historien, touchant le denombrement, dont S. Luc parle, et touchant le meurtre des enfans de Bethlehem, du tems de la naissance de notre Seigneur: pour ne pas parler de sa vie, et de sa mort, dont il ne dit rien non plus: car on ne peut guere douter, que le passage, ou il en est parlé, ne soit fourré, par

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un Chrétien mal-habile, dans Joseph. S'il eut dit seulement un mot du denombrement, et du massacre de Bethlehem, on n'auroit point la peine de chercher le tems de la naissance de Notre Seigneur. Mais ce Juif malicieux a voulu, autant qu'il étoit en lui, ensevebir cette histoire dans un éternel oubli, en haine des Chrétiens. *Le Clerc. Bib. Ch. T. 4. Art. i. p. 74. 75.*

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three Jewish sects, the Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essens, whose principles are particularly described by him in the (*) War, and in (**) the Antiquities. And therefore, as we may think, were deserving of notice. But they were not Jewish enough. They were not entirely Jewish. And they were followers of a leader, whom our Author did not, and could not esteem, consistently with his prevailing views and sentiments.

Josephus was well acquainted with affairs at Rome, and in all the settlements of the Jewish people in Asia, and parts adjacent. He is as exact in the account of the several successions in the Roman Empire, as any Roman Historian whatever. What (b) a long and particular account has he given of the conspiracie against Caligula, and his death, and the succession of Claudius?

I do not say, that Josephus had read the books of the New Testament. He might have come to the knowledge of most of the things just mentioned another way. They are great and remarkable events, about which a contemporarie, and a man of good intelligence, engaged in public life, could not be ignorant. His silence therefore about Christian affairs is willfull, and affected. It cannot be owing to ignorance. And must therefore be ascribed to some other cause, whatever it may be.

His profound silence, however, concerning the affairs of the Christians in his time, is no objection to their truth and reality. The historie of the new Testament has in it all the marks of credibility, that any historie can have. Heathen historians (i) of the best credit, have born witnessse to the time of the rise of the Christian Religion,

(*) *De B. J. l. 2. cap. viii.*

(**) *Antiq. l. 13. cap. v. et l. 18. cap. i.*

(b) *Antiq. l. 19. cap. i. ii. iii.*

(i) . . . quos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor hujus nominis Christus, qui Tiberio imperante, per procuratorem

Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat. Repressaque in praesens extitabilis superstitione rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judaeam originem ejus mali, sed per Urbem etiam, &c. *Tacit. Ann. l. 15. cap. 44.*

ligion, the countrey, in which it had it's origin, and who was the Author of it, and it's swift and early progresse in the world.

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Of all those things, which are recorded in the Gospels, and of the progresse of Christianity afterwards, we have uncontested evidence, from the evangelical writers themselves, and from ancient Christian authors, still exstant, and from Heathen writers, concurring with them in many particulars.

And Josephus, the Jewish Historian, who believed not in Jesus, has recorded the historie of the Jewish people in Judea, and elsewhere: and particularly the state of things in Judea, with the names of the Jewish Princes, and Roman Governours, during the ministrie of our Saviour, and his Apostles. Whereby as (*k*) formerly shewn at large, he has wonderfully confirmed, though without intending it, the veracity, and the ability, of the evangelical writers, and the truth of their historie. He has also, as we have now seen in this volume, bore testimonie to the fulfilment of our Lord's predictions concerning the coming troubles and afflictions of that people: which is more credible, and more valuable, than if given by a believer in Jesus, and a friend and favourer of him. So that though all the passages in his works, which have been doubted of, should be rejected; he would be still a very usefull writer, and his (*l*) works very valuable.

Josephus knew how to be silent, when he thought fit, and has omitted some things very true, and certain, and well known in the

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world.

(*k*) *In the first Part of the Credibility of the Gospel Historie.*

(*l*) Evangelicam quoque et apostolicam historiam Josephus confirmat in multis, etiamsi vel maxime ponamus dubitandum esse de γνησιότητι locorum de Christo Salvatore lib. xviii. Antiq. cap. 4. de Johanne Baptista lib. xviii. cap. 7. de Jacobo. l. xx. c. 8. et quae de dirutis propter Jaco-

bi necem injustam Hierosolymis . . ex iisdem Josephi libris laudant Origenes, 1. contr. Cels. et l. 2. et in Matthaei cap. xiii. Eusebius. l. 2. c. 23. H. E. Hieronymus Catalogo Script. Ec. cap. 2. et 13. Suidas λέγοντες, et Ἰωσῆς, hodie vero in Josephi libris non reperiuntur. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. l. 4. cap. vi. T. 3. p. 237. 238.*

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world. In the preface to his Jewish Antiquities, he (*m*) engages to write of things, as he found them mentioned in the sacred books, without adding any thing to them, or omitting any thing in them. And (*n*) yet he has said nothing of the golden calf, made by the Jewish people in the wilderness: thus dropping an important narrative, with a variety of incidents, recorded in one of the books of Moses himself, the Jewish Lawgiver, the most sacred of all their scriptures.

The sin of the *Molten calf* is also mentioned in other books of the Old Testament in the confessions of pious Israelites: as Neh. ix. 18. and Pl. cvi. 19. Nevertheless Josephus chose to observe total silence about it.

A learned critic observed some while ago, as somewhat very remarkable, that (*o*) Josephus has never once mentioned the word *Sion*, or *Zion*, neither in his Antiquities, nor in his Jewish War: though there were so many occasions for it: and though it is so often mentioned in the Old, as well as the New Testament. And he suspects that omission to be owing to design and ill-will to the Christian cause.

And

(*m*) Ὅτι το δὲ διὰ τούτης ποίησεν τῆς πράγματος, ἡπηνργεῖν, ἔδεν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἐν παραλήπτον. *Antiq. Pr.* §. 3. p. 4.

(*n*) Eruditionem, diligentiam, prudentiam, fidem, omnes callaudant, praeterquam ubi nimio est in suam gentem affectu. v. gr. in rebus Moſis et Salomonis. . . silentium nonnunquam affectatum, ut in iis quae probro cederent suae genti. Qualis ex. gr. fuit Vituli Aurei fabrica, et adoratio, tacita Josepho: ita et in iis quae faverent Christianae rei, eruditi passim notarunt, et nos subinde in locis suis. *F. Spanhem. H. E. T. i. p. 258. Conf. J. Otton. Animadversiones in Joseph. §. ii. p. 305. Havercamp.*

And by all means see Tillemon's Remarks upon this Author's Antiquities. Ruine des Juifs, art. 81.

(*o*) Sion, Tzion nomen, montem, munimentum semel iterumque apud Josephum quaerens, nullibi inveni, neque iis etiam in locis, ubi expugnationem arcis Tzion expresse tractat: quum tamen centies et millies ipsi occasio data fuerit, ita ut plane sentiam ipsum studio et datâ operâ hoc tam gloriosum pro Novo Testamento nomen pressisse silentio &c. *J. B. Ottii Animadversiones in Joseph. ap. Havercamp. T. 2. p. 305.*

And if I was not afraid of offending by too great prolixity, I should now remind my readers of a (p) long argument of old date, relating to the assessment made in Judea, by order of Augustus, at the time of our Saviour's nativity, near the end of Herod's reign, recorded by St. Luke ch. ii. I (q) then quoted a passage from the Antiquities of Josephus, whence it appears, that there were then great disturbances in Herod's familie. And there were some *Pharisees, who foretold, or gave out, that God had decreed to put an end to the government of Herod, and his race, and transfer the kingdom to another.* Josephus here takes great liberties. And though he was himself a Pharisee, and at other times speaks honorably of that sect, he now ridicules them. He says (r) *they were men, who valued themselves highly for their exact knowledge of the laws. And talking much of their interest with God, were greatly in favour with the women. Who had it in their power to controll Kings: extremely subtle, and ready to attempt any thing against those whom they did not like.* But it appears, that the King, who was then talked of, and who was to be appointed, according to the predictions of the Pharisees, was a person of an extraordinarie character. For he says, that *Bagoas, an eunuch in Herod's palace, was elevated by them, with the prospect of being a father and benefactor to his countrey, by receiving from him a capacity of marriage, and having children of his own* * *.

All these particulars, though not expressed with such gravity, as is becoming an historian, and is usual in Josephus, cannot but lead us to think, that he was not unacquainted with the things related in the second chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. Says the Evangelist: *Now when Jesus was born in Bethleem of Judea, in the days of Herod the King, behold there came wise-men from the East to Jerusalem, saying: Where*

(p) *Credibility. P. i. B. 2. ch. i. Vol. 2. p. 628. . . 645. the third edition.*

(q) The quotation is, as above, p. 628. . . 630. taken from the Antiquities. l. 17. cap. 2 § 4 p. 831. *Havercamp.*

(r) P. 629.

* * Whiston translates: *And for Bagoas, he had been puffed up by them. For that this King would have all things in his power, and would enable Bagoas to marry, and to have children of his own body begotten.*

A. D. 76. *Where is he that is born King of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the East, and are come to worship him. When Herod the King had heard all these things, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him.*

The word rendred *troubled*, is of a midle meaning. How Herod was *moved*, may be easily guessed, and is well known. The inhabitants of Jerusalem were differently *moved* and agitated: partly with joyfull hopes of seeing their Messiah, *King of the Jews*: partly filled with apprehensions from Herod's jealousy, and the consequences of it.

It seems to me, that Josephus had then before him good evidences, that the Messiah was at that time born into the world. But he puts all off with a jest. Perhaps, there is not any other place in his works, where he is so ludicrous. We are not therefore to expect, that ever after he should take any notice of the Lord Jesus, or things concerning him, if he can avoid it.

And why should we be much concerned about any defects in this writer's regard for Jesus Christ, and his followers: who out of complaisance, or from self-interested views, or from a mistaken judgement, or some other cause, so deviated from the truth, as to ascribe the fulfilment of the Jewish ancient prophecies concerning the Messiah, to *Vespasian*, an idolatrous prince, who was not a Jew by descent, nor by religion: who was neither of the church, nor of the seed of Israel?

Josephus was a man of great eminence and distinction among his people. But we do not observe in him a seriousness of spirit, becoming a Christian: nor that sublimity of virtue, which is suited to the principles of the Christian Religion. Nor do we discern in him such qualities, as should induce us to think, he was one of those, who were well disposed, and were *not far from the kingdom of God*. He was a Priest by descent, and early in the magistracie, then a General, and a Courtier, and in all shewing a worldly mind, suited to such stations and employments. Insomuch that he appears to be one of those, of whom, and to whom, the best judge of men and things said: *How can ye believe, who receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only!*

Mark xii.
34.

John v.
44.

C H A P. V.

The Mishnical, and Talmudical writers.

- I. *The Age, and the Authors of the Mishna, and the Talmuds.* II. *Extraëts from the Mishna, with Remarks.* III. *Extraëts from the Talmuds, 1. of our Saviour's Nativity. 2. His journey into Egypt. 3. His Disciples. 4. James, in particular. 5. His last Sufferings. 6. The power of Miracles in Jesus, and his Disciples. 7. A Testimonie to the Destruction of the Temple by Vespasian and Titus, with Remarks.*

I. **T**HE word *Talmud* is used in different senses. Sometimes it denotes the *Mishna*, which is the text. At other times it is used for the commentaries upon the *Mishna*. At other times it includes both. I shall generally use it, as distinct from the *Mishna*, denoting the commentaries upon it, of which there are two, the *Jerusalem* and the *Babylonian*. Of all which good accounts may be seen in *Wagenfeil's* preface to his *Tela Ignea Satanae*, and in *Dr. Wotton's Discourses upon the Traditions of the Scribes and Pharisees*, and in many other writings. The most authentic account is that of *M. Maimonides*, in his preface to the *Order of Seeds*, which is the first of the six *Orders*, into which the whole work is divided. And may be seen in *Pocock's Porta Moses*. As it is also prefixed to the first volume of *Surenhusius's* edition of the *Mishna*.

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*The Time
and Au-
thors of
the Mish-
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The compiler of the Mishna is *Rabbi Jebudah Hakkadosch*, or the holy, upon whom the highest commendations are bestowed by Maimonides (*a*) as eminent for humility, temperance, and every branch of piety, as also for learning, and eloquence, and likewise for his riches: which are magnified by him, and other Jewish writers, beyond all reasonable bounds of probability.

But it may not be amiss for me to give my readers some farther insight into this work, by reciting an article of Dr. Prideaux in his *Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testament*. He observes, how the number of Jewish traditions had encreased. “ And (*b*) thus, says he, it went on to the midle of the second centurie “ after Christ, when Antoninus Pius governed the Roman Empire, “ by which time they found it necessarie to put all these traditions “ into writing. For they were then grown to so great a number, “ and enlarged to so huge a heap, as to exceed the possibility of being any longer preserved by the memorie of men. And therefore there being danger, that under their disadvantages they might be all forgotten and lost, for the preventing hereof, it was resolved, that they should be all collected, and put into a book. And “ *Rabbi Judah, the son of Simeon*, who from the reputed sanctity of his life, was called *Hakkadosh*, that is, the Holy, and was then Rector of the school, which they had at Tiberias in Galilee . . . “ undertook the work, and compiled it in six books, each consisting of several tracts, which all together make up the number of “ sixty three. . . This is the book, called the *Mishnah*. Which book “ was forthwith received by the Jews with great veneration throughout all their dispersions, and hath been ever since held in high esteem among them. . . And therefore, as soon as it was published, it became the object of the studies of all learned men. And “ the chiefeft of them employed themselves to make comments upon “ on

(*a*) *Ap. Pocock. Port. Mosis.* p. 35. 36.
&c. Vol. i.

(*b*) *The Year before Christ.* 446. p. 326.

“ on it, and these with the Mishna make up both the Talmuds,
“ that is, the *Jerusalem Talmud*, and the *Babylonish Talmud*. These
“ comments they call the *Gemara*, that is, the complement, because
“ by them the *Mishna* is fully explained, and the whole traditiona-
“ rie doctrine of their law and their religion compleated. For the
“ *Mishna* is the text, and the *Gemara* the comment, and both to-
“ gether is what they call *the Talmud*. That made by the Jews of
“ Judea is called *the Jerusalem Talmud*, and that made by the Jews
“ of Babylonia, the *Babylonish Talmud*. The former was compleated
“ about the year of our Lord three hundred, and is published in one
“ large folio. The later was published about two hundred years
“ after, in the begining of the sixth centurie, and has had several e-
“ ditions since the invention of printing: the last published at Am-
“ sterдам, is in twelve folios. And in these two Talmuds is con-
“ tained the whole of the Jewish religion, that is now professed a-
“ mong them. But (*c*) the *Babylonish Talmud*, is that which they
“ chiefly follow.”

The same learned author again, afterwards computes, that the *Mishna* was composed about the one hundred and fiftieth year of our Lord, the *Jerusalem Talmud*, about the three hundredth year, and the other *Talmud* about the five hundredth year of our Lord.

And *Wagenfeil* observes, that (*d*) Rabbi Jehuda was contemporarie with Antonin the Pious. Mr. *Lampe* (*e*) speaking of several of

(*c*) Dr. *Wotton*, as above, p. 22. 23. says: “ The *Jerusalem Talmud* wants
“ the impertinences, and, consequently,
“ the authority of the *Babylonish Gema-*
“ *ra*. . . It has little of that hyperbolical
“ and fabulous stuff, for which the other
“ is so highly valued by the modern Tal-
“ mudists.”

(*d*) Rabbi Jehudam, qui Sancti cognomen inter suos meruit, et Antonini Pii

Imperatoris aequalis fuit, metus invaserat, ne ob tantas gentis suae miseriae, et in remotissimis terris deportationes, Oralis Lex plane in hominum animis oblitteraretur. *Wagenf. Pr. p. 55.*

(*e*) Sed praecipue eminuit R. Jehuda, quem Sanctum nominant, Mishnae auctor, qui circa annum 194. aut secundum alios 230 obiisse creditur. *Lampe Synops. H. E. P. III.*

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the Jewish Rabbins celebrated about this time, says, that *R. Jehuda*, author of the *Mishna*, died about the year of Christ 194. or according to others in the year 230.

Dr. Lightfoot, [*Fall of Jerusalem* §. vii. Vol. i. p. 369.] says, “that
“ *R. Judah* outlived both the Antonins, and *Commodus* also.”
And afterwards, in the same page. “He compiled the *Mishnah*
“ about the year of Christ 190. in the later end of the reign of *Com-*
“ *modus*: or, as some compute, in the year of Christ 220. an hun-
“ dred and fifty years after the destruction of *Jerusalem*.”

I do not take upon me to contest at all what *Prideaux* says of the times of the two Talmuds. But I must say a few things about the time of the *Mishna*. I allow, that *Rabbi Jehudah*, the composer of it, was contemporarie with *Antonin* the Pious: though the stories told by the Jewish writers of the favours shewn him by that Emperour, must be reckoned partly fabulous. But allowing him to be contemporarie with *Antonin*, who died in the year 161. it does not follow, that the *Mishna* was composed so soon, as the year of Christ 150. *R. Jehuda* is supposed to have had a long life. And the compiling the *Mishna*, which must have been the work of many years, and much leisure, and deliberate thought and consideration, may not have been finished before the year 190. or (*f*) later. If therefore I place this work at the year 180. I think, I place it soon enough. Besides, it is said, that *R. Jehudah* had several sicknesses, some of long continuance, which are particularly mentioned, both in the *Jerusalem* and the *Babylonian Talmud*, though with some variations. These must have been obstructions to him in his studies, and must have prolonged the labours of his work. The nature of the work also required time. It is not a speculation, which might
be

(*f*) *Talmudici Operis fundamenta hoc seculo jacta, circa A. C. cxc. Magistri citius, imperante Antonino Pio. Fred.*

Spanh. Opp. T. i. p. 687. Vid. et p. 793.

be spun out of a man's head at once. But it is a collection (*g*) of traditions from all quarters, and from the contributions of other learned men of the nation, who had treasured up these hitherto unwritten traditions in their memories.

One thing more I may premise here, that (*b*) it is the opinion of divers learned men, well skilled in this part of learning, that in the *Mishna*, which is a collection of Jewish traditions, there is little or nothing concerning our Saviour, or his followers. I allow also, that here are none of those open blasphemies, which may be found in some other Jewish writings.

II. I shall now make some extracts out of the *Mishna*.

1. In the tract concerning *Fasts* are these words: "Five (*i*) heavie

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(*g*) Quamobrem, adhibitis in consilium auxiliumque sapientissimis quibusque, sedulo ab iis, quibus licebat, Judaeis, voce ac per epistolas sciscitatus est, quatenam a parentibus oralis legis scita didicissent, quin et schedas undique conquisivit, quibus hactenus memoriae causa traditiones inscriptae fuerant. Ea omnia, secundum certa doctrinae capita disposuit, et in unum volumen redegit, cui nomen hoc *Mishna*, hoc est, *δευτέρα* imposuit. *Wagenseil Pr. p. 55.*

(*b*) Scilicet, si per Talmud solam Mishnam intelligam, vere affirmavero, nullam in toto Talmude reperiri blasphemiam, nihil Christianis adversum, nullam fabulam quoque, immo nec quicquam quod valde a ratione sit alienum. Continet enim meras tantum *πατροπαράδοσεις*, et est, ceu diximus, corpus juris Judaici olim non scripti. Rem ita se habere, testem idoneum ac locupletem sistere possumus, virum harum rerum scientissimum, omnique dig-

num praeconio Josephum de Voisin. . . . *Wagenseil. Praef. p. 57.*

Quippe, quod in praefatione hujus voluminis satis dixi, id tamen nunc iterum dico, in universa Mishna, de Jesu servatore, nec vola nec vestigium ullum apparet, immo ne de Christianis quidem, ejus nomen profitentibus. *Id. in Consut. Toldos Jesehu. p. 10. §. 4.*

(*i*) Quinque res lucluosae patribus nostris acciderunt die septimo decimo mensis Tammuz [sc. *Junii*.] totidemque die nono mensis Abh [sc. *Julii*.] Nam xvii. Tammuz fractae sunt tabulae Legis: cessavit jure sacrificium: Urbis moenia perrupta: Lex ab Appostemo combusta, idolumque in templo statutum. Nono autem die mensis Abh, decrevit Deus de patribus nostris, non ingressuros eos in terram promissam: desolatum est templum primum et secundum: capta est urbs Bither: diruta urbs sancta. Unde ex quo

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“afflictions have befallen our ancestors on the seventeenth day of
“the month Tammus [June] and as many on the ninth day of the
“month Ab. [July.] For on the seventeenth day of Tammus, the
“tables of the law were broken: the perpetual sacrifice ceased: the
“walls of the city were broke open: the Law was burnt by *Apos-*
“*temus*, and an idol was set up in the temple. On the ninth day of
“the month Ab, God determined concerning our fathers, that they
“should not enter into the promised land: the first and second tem-
“ple was desolated: the city *Bither* was taken: the holy city was
“destroyed. For which reason, as soon as the month Ab begins, re-
“joycings are abated.” * *

Who

quo mensis Abh incipit. laetitiam imminuunt. *Tracl. de Jsejuniis cap. 4. §. 7. Pars. 2. p. 382. edit. Surenh.*

(* *) I think it cannot be disagreeable to my readers, if I here transcribe some observations of Dr. Lightfoot, from what he calls a *Parergon*. Concerning the *Fall of Jerusalem*. Of his Works, Vol. i. p. 362. though they are long, “The temple was burnt down, as Josephus a spectator setteth the time, on the tenth day of the month *Lous*. Which he saith was a fatal day to the temple. For it had been burnt down by the Babylonians before, on that day. *De Bell. l. 6. cap. vii.* And yet his countrey men, who write in the Hebrew tongue, fix both these fatalities to the ninth day of that month, which they call the month Ab. And they account that day fatal for three other sad occurrences besides. On the ninth day of the month Ab, say they, the decree came out against Israel in the wilderness, that they should not enter into the land. On it was the destruction of the first Temple, and on it was the destruction of the second. On it the great city *Bither* was taken, where there were

thousands and ten thousands of Israel, who had a great King over them, [Ben Cozba.] whom all Israel, even their greatest wise men, thought to have been Messias. But he fell into the hands of the Heathen, and there was great affliction, as there was at the destruction of the Sanctuary. And on that day, a day allotted for vengeance, the wicked Turnus Rufus ploughed up the place of the Temple, and the places about it, to accomplish what is said, Sion shall become a ploughed field. Talm. in Taanith. per. 4. halac. 6. Maimon. in Taanith. per. 5.”

“It is strange, that men of the same nation, and in a thing so signal, and of which both parties were spectators, should be at such a difference: and yet not a difference neither, if we take Josephus’s report of the whole story, and the other Jews construction of the time. He records, that the Cloister walks, commonly called the Porticoes of the Temple, were fired on the eighth day, and were burning on the ninth: but that day Titus called a council of war, and carried it by three voices, that the temple should be spared. But a new bustling of the Jews caused it to be fired, though

Who is meant by *Aposlemus*, or *Appostomus*, is not very material. And therefore, I do not inquire. I allege this passage, as an early Jewish testimonie to the destruction of the holy city, or *Jerusalem*, and the *second temple*, as it is here called.

2. In the tract concerning *the Woman suspected of Adulterie*, are these words: "When (*k*) the war of *Vespasian* began, the coronets and bells of bridegrooms were forbidden by a public decree.

"When

though against his will, on the next day. *Joseph. ubi supr. cap. 22. 23. 24.* Now their Kalendar reckons, from the midle day of the three that fire was at it, as from a centre. And they state the time thus: *It was the time of the evening, when fire was put to the temple. And it burnt till the going down of the sun of the next day. And behold what Rabban Jochanan benzaccai saith: If I had not been in that generation, I should not have pitched it upon any other day, but the tenth, because the most of the temple was burnt that day. And in the Jerusalem Talmud it is related, that Rabbi, and Joshua ben Levi, fasted for it the ninth and tenth days both. Gloss. in Maim. in Taanith. per. 8."*

"Such another discrepancy about the time of the firing of the first temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, may be observed in 2 Kings xxv. 8. 9. where it is said, that *in the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month, came Nebuzaradan, Captain of the guard, and burnt the House of the Lord.* And yet in Jer. lii. 12. it is said to have been *in the fifth month, on the tenth day of the month.* Which the Gemarists in the Babylon Talmud reconcile thus: *It cannot be said, on*

the seventh day, because it is said, On the tenth. Nor can it be said On the tenth, because it is said, On the seventh. How is it then? On the seventh day the aliens came into the Temple, and eat there, and defiled it, the seventh, eighth, and ninth days. And that day toward night, they set it on fire, and it burnt all the tenth day, as was the case also with the second Temple. Taanith. fol. 29."

"The ninth and tenth days of the month Ab, on which the Temple was burnt down, was about the two and three and twentieth of our July. And the city was taken, and sacked, the eighth day of September following. *Joseph. supr. cap. 47."* So *Lightfoot*.

(*k*) *Orto bello Vespasiani, decreto publico abrogatae sunt coronae sponforum, et tympana. Orto bello Titi cautum est de coronis sponfarum, et ne quis filium in Graecanicis erudiret. Propter postremum belli impetum, prohibebatur sponsa in publicum prodire sub uranisco. Sed magistris nostris visum est, facultatem ejus rei indulgere. Tractat. de Uxore Adulterii suspecta. num. 14. P. 3. p. 304. Edit. Surenh.*

A. D. 180. "When the war of *Titus* began, the coronets of brides were forbidden, and that no man should educate his son in Greek learning. Because of the final issue of that war, every bride was forbidden to come abroad under an umbrella. Nevertheless, our Masters have [since] thought fit to allow of it."

This also is an early testimonie to the war, in which the Jewish people were subdued by those two great Generals, *Vespasian* and *Titus*.

3. I shall now transcribe below another long passage from the same tract. A part of which shall be translated.

"When (1) Rabbi *Meïr* died, there were none left to instruct "men in wise parables." . . .

" . . . When

(1) Mortuo R. Meir defecere, qui homines erudiebant [*doctis*] parabolis. . . . Mortuo R. Simeone Filio Gamalielis, venerunt locustae, et auctae sunt calamitates. . . . R. Ahiba mortuo decus legis evanuit. . . . Mortuo R. Gamaliele Senae, evanuit honor legis, simulque mundities et sanctimonia, intermortuae. R. Ismaele filio Rabbi defuncto, occubuit splendor sacerdotii. Mortuo Rabbi [*Juda Sancto*] cessavit modestia, et timor peccati. R. Pinchas F. J. ait diruto templo pudore suffusi sunt Sapientes pariter et Nobiles: obnubuntque capita. Liberales ad pauperiem sunt redacti, contra invaluerunt violenti, et calumniatores: nec superest explicans, nec quaerens, nec interrogans. Cui ergo innitendum est nobis? Patri nostro coelesti. R. Eliezer, cognomento Magnus, ait: Ex quo templum devastatum est, coepere Sapientes similes esse Scribis, Scribae Aeditui, Aeditui vulgo hominum. Vulgus

autem hominum, in pejus in dies ruit: nec quis rogans, aut quaerens, superest. Cui ergo innitendum? Patri nostro coelesti. Paulo ante adventum Messiae impudentia augebitur, et magna erit annae caritas. Vitis proferet fructum, sed vinum nihilominus care vendetur. Summum in orbe Imperium obruetur opinionibus pravis, et nulli locum habebit correctio. Synagogae convertentur in lupanaria, limites Judaeae desolabuntur, et regio quanta quanta est devastabitur. Viri insignes oppidatim circuibunt, nec ulla humanitatis officia experientur. Faetebit sapientia Magistrorum, a deliciis sibi caventes spectantur, et Veritatis magnus erit defectus. Juvenes confundent ora Senum. Senes coram junioribus surgent. Filius irritabit patrem. Nata insurgat adversus matrem, nurusque contra socrum. Denique, suos quisque domesticos inimicos habebit. Scilicet seculo illo canina facies

“...When *Simeon*, son of *Gamaliel* died, there came locusts, and
 “calamities were encreased... When *R. Akiba* died, the glorie of
 “the law vanished away. Upon the death of *Gamaliel*, the aged,
 “the honour of the law vanished, and there was an end to purity
 “and sanctimonie. When *Rabbi Ishmael*, son of *Babi*, died, the
 “splendour of the priesthood was tarnished. When *Rabbi* [*Judah*]
 “died, there was no more any modestie, or fear of transgression.
 “*Rabbi Pinchas*, son of *Ishmael*, said, when the temple was de-
 “stroyed, all men were covered with shame, both Wise men and
 “Nobles. And all now cover their heads. The bountifull are re-
 “duced to poverty, and the violent and slanderers prevail. Nor is
 “there any to explain the law, nor are there any who ask and in-
 “quire. What then shall we do? Let us trust in our heavenly Fa-
 “ther. *R. Eliezer*, surnamed the great, says: from the time that
 “the temple was destroyed, the Wise Men began to be like Scribes,
 “the Scribes like Sextons, and Sextons like the Vulgar. And the
 “Vulgar are continually degenerating from bad to worse. Nor are
 “there any who ask and inquire. What then shall we do? Let us
 “trust in our heavenly Father. A short time before the coming of
 “the Messiah, Impudence will be encreased: and great will be the
 “price of provisions. The vine will bear fruit. Nevertheless wine
 “will be sold at a high price. The supreme Empire of the world
 “will be overwhelmed with bad opinions. Nor will there be room
 “for any to correct them. Synagogues will be turned into brothel-
 “houses, and the whole land of Judea will be laid waste. Excel-
 “lent

facies erit, nec verebitur filius parentem.
 Cui ergo confidendum? Patri coelesti.
 . . . *R. Pinchas F. J.* ait: Providentia caus-
 sa alacritatis... Timor sceleris ducit ad
 pietatem. Pietas causa est [*gratiae*] S. Spi-
 ritus. Spiritus S. [*fideles*] facit participes
 resurrectionis mortuorum. Resurrectio

mortuorum obtinget interventu Eliae, cu-
 jus memoria sacra esto, et sancta. . . De-
 us aeternus benigne concedat ut adventu
 illius cito salvi sanique fruamur. Amen.
Tr. de uxore adulterii suspecta. num. 15. P.
3. p. 308. 309. Surenh.

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“lent men will wander from town to town, and experience no offices of humanity. The Wisdom of the Masters will be slighted, and all who strive to avoid transgression will be contemned, and great will be the dearth of truth. Young men will cover the faces of the aged with shame. And the aged will rise before the Young. The son will dishonour the father. And the daughter will rise up against her mother : and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. And a man’s enemies will be they of his own household. In a word, that age will have a canine appearance. Nor will the son reverence the father. What then shall we do? Let us trust in our heavenly Father. . . . *May the coming of Elias be hastened. And may the eternal God graciously vouchsafe, that we may be preserved to that time.*”

This passage may deserve an attentive regard, and will require divers observations. But I shall take no particular notice of what is here said about *the coming of Elias*, that not being reckoned certainly genuine.

I. In the first place, this passage ought to be compared with Jerome’s commentarie upon If. ch. viii. 14. where (l) he mentions divers of the Jewish Masters, who flourished, and were very eminent about the time of our Saviour, and some while after : *Sammai, Hillel, Meir, Akibas, Johanan*, the son of *Zachai*, and some others. In (m) ano-

(l) Duas domus Nazaraci . . duas familias interpretantur, Sammai et Hillel : ex quibus orti sunt Scribae et Pharisei, quorum suscepit scholam Akibas, quem magistrum Aquilae profelyti autumant : et post eum Meir, cui successit Johanan filius Zachai : et post eum Eliezer, et per ordinem Delphon : et rursus Joseph Ga-

lilaus : et usque ad captivitatem Jerusalem Josue. Sammai igitur et Hillel non multo prius quam Dominus nasceretur, orti sunt in Judaea, quorum prior dissipator interpretatur, sequens prophanus : eo quod per traditiones et δευτεράσεις suas legis praecepta dissipaverit, atque maculaverit. &c. In If. cap. viii. T. 3. p. 79.

(m) another place he censures the numerous traditions, or secondary laws of the Pharisees. Undoubtedly *Jerome* was not unacquainted with Jewish traditions. But I cannot say, that these passages amount to a proof, that he had seen the volume of the *Mishna*.

2. Here is another testimonie to the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem.

3. I suppose likewise, that here is a reference to the disasters of the Jews, occasioned by the rebellion of *Barchochebas* in the time of *Adrian*. This I suppose to be intended in these words: *And the whole land of Judea will be laid waste, and excellent men will wander from place to place, and experience no offices of humanity.* Moreover in the passage first cited, *the taking of the city Bithur* is mentioned, as one of the most remarkable calamities that had befallen the Jewish people. It was the concluding event of the Jewish war with *Adrian*, about the year 136. Which shews, that the *Mishna* was not composed, till some while afterwards.

4. *Meir*, the first Rabbi here mentioned, is said to have been (n) one of the principal of the Jewish doctors after the destruction of Jerusalem.

5. Rabbi *Akibas* (o) is a man, upon whose praises the Jewish writers enlarge mightily. And his sayings are often mentioned in the

(m) *Quantae traditiones Pharisaeorum sint, quas hodie vocant δευτεράριους, et quam aniles fabulae, evolvere nequeo. Neque libri patitur magnitudo: et pleraque tam turpia sunt, ut erubescam dicere. Ad Al-gas. Qu. x. T. 4. P. i. p. 207.*

(n) See *Basnag. Hist. des Juifs. l. 6. ch. x. §. iv, &c.*

(o) *Of Akibas may be seen Basnage Hist. des Juifs. liv. vi. ch. ix. §. 14. . . . 25. Vid. et Basnag. ann. 134. num. iii. Ray-mund. Martini Pug. Fidei. p. 256. 257. . . . 264. Edzardi Avodazara. Vol. i. p. 162. 338. Lightfoot, in the Fall of Jerusalem. §. iv. vol. i. p. 366. 367. Dr. Sharpe's Argument for Christianity. p. 55.*

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Mishna, and the Talmud. He was a zealous follower of the impostor *Barchochebas*, who took upon him the character of the Messiah, in the time of *Adrian*, about the year of Christ 132. And he perished with him. This shews the temper of *Akibas*. And we can hence conclude, how he stood affected to the Lord Jesus. The honorable mention here made of him shews also the temper of the compiler of this work, the *Mishna*.

6. *Gamaliel the aged* is supposed to be Gamaliel, St. Paul's master, mentioned by him Acts xxii. 3. and in ch. v. 34. to be *one of the Council, a Pharisee, and doctor of the law, had in reputation with all the people*. From what is here said of him, in the passage now before us, he appears to have been in great esteem with the Jewish people. And he is often mentioned in the Mishna. What is here said of him, therefore confirms the truth of what is said of him in the book of the Acts. Moreover, we are hereby assured, that *Gamaliel* never was converted to Christianity, as some Christians, especially of the Church of Rome, have fondly and weakly imagined. And indeed from what St. Paul says, in the text before quoted, it may be argued, that *Gamaliel* was still a firm Jew. Otherwise, it had not been to the purpose, to take notice of his education under him, in the critical circumstance, which he was then in.

7. Of *Rabbi*, [*Jehudah*,] the compiler of the Mishna, here, and elsewhere called *Rabbi*, or the *Master*, without any other distinction, so much has been said already, that little more needs to be added now. It is here said, *that when he died, there remained no longer any modestie, or fear of transgression*. Maimonides in his character of *Jehudah the Holy*, did not omit (p) this particular. But here is somewhat,

(p) In summo etiam pietatis, et humilitatis, et abstinencie a voluptatibus gradu: uti etiam dixerunt: Ex quo mortu-

us est Rabbi, cessavit humilitas, et timor peccati. *Maim. Porta Moysi. p. 35.*

somewhat, which could not be said by himself. It must have been inserted after his death. *Wagenfeil* therefore acknowledgeth, that (q) there were some additions made to the Mishna. But he says, they are not many, and they were soon made, and chiefly regard R. *Jekuda* himself, which I see no reason to contest. For I am willing to allow this volume to be a work of the second centurie. Nevertheless this manner of speaking, may perhaps induce us to think, that more hands than one were employed in compiling it.

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8. Once more, in the eighth place. *This whole passage appears to me to be a disguised, and invidious representation of the state of things, under the gospel-dispensation, since the appearance of Jesus, whom his disciples and followers have received as the Messiah: and especially, after the destruction of Jerusalem, when Christianity prevailed, and Judaism declined.*

For 1.) The destruction of the Jewish temple is acknowledged. Nevertheless here are no tokens of repentance and humiliation, but complaints and reflexions upon others. The times were bad. But the blame is all laid upon others.

2.) The *supreme Empire of the world*, he says, *will be*, or is *overwhelmed with bad opinions*: meaning, as I think, the Christian Religion, and the several sects and heresies, which arose in the second centurie, and some of them, not far from the begining of it.

3.) *Synagogues will be turned into brothel-houses.* He refers to the common reports among the vulgar, that the Christians practised promiscuous lewdness in their religious assemblies. And he adopts the calumnie.

4.) In what follows, the Author adopts the words of our Lord, recorded Matt. x. 35, 36. and Luke xii. 51...53. Which words are also

B b 2

(q) Accessisse post obitum R. Judaei, adjectae, ipsumque R. Judam potissimum quasdam interpolationes, non negaverim: respiciunt. *Wag. ib. p. 55.*
fed eae paucae sunt, ac mature fuerunt

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in Micah vii. 6. concerning the dissensions that would be in families, some cheerfully embracing his doctrine, whilst others obstinately rejected it, and were bitter toward those who received it. Which the compiler of this work represents, as the utmost distress and misery, and as hitherto unknown and unparalleled wickedness.

5.) And what do all the clamours of this paragraph mean concerning the *failure* or *dearth of truth*, the *multiplicity of bad opinions*, whilst there was no room left for reproof or correction? What is intended by the complaints, that *the wisdom of the masters was slighted*, that *there was an end to purity and sanctimonie*, to *modestie* and the *fear of transgression*, and that *the Young covered the faces of the aged with shame*, and the *aged rose up to the Young*, and the rest.

All these complaints, as seems to me, refer to the resolution and steadiness of the converts to Christianity, from Judaism, and Gentilism, who judged for themselves, and admitted the evidences of the truth of the new religion, which overpowered their minds. Of which therefore they made an open profession, notwithstanding the sophistries, the entreaties, and the menaces of the world about them: many of whom were their superiors in age, learning, and outward circumstance and condition. Of all this we have in this passage, as seems to me a graphical description.

I cannot but understand this passage after this manner. And I refer these thoughts to the consideration of my readers. This paragraph, if my interpretation be right, is very curious.

I am unwilling to enter into a controversy about the Mishnical tract *Avoda zara, de cultu peregrino*, of strange, or idolatous worship. I pay a great regard to the judgement of those learned men, who say, there is in it no reference to the Christians. Nevertheless there seems to me a defect in their reasonings upon that point. I think, that when the *Mishna* was compiled, the Christians were more numerous, more considerable, and of more consequence, than those learned men suppose in their argument concerning that tract.

III. I have done with the *Mishna*. I proceed to the *Talmud*.*The Na-
tivity of
Jesus.*

1. The first passage to be taken thence will relate to our Lord's nativity.

“ Upon (*r*) a certain day, when several Masters were sitting at
“ the gate of the city, two boys passed by before them : one of
“ whom covered his head, the other had his head uncovered.
“ Concerning him, who contrarie to all the rules of modestie, had
“ boldly passed by with his head uncovered, *Elieser* said, he believ-
“ ed he was spurious. R. *Joshua* said he believed he was the son
“ of a woman set apart. But R. *Akiba* said, he was both. The
“ others said to *Akiba*, Why do you differ from the rest of your bre-
“ thren ?

(*r*) Juramentis vero illorum nihil prorsus est tribuendum, quia in ipso Talmude docentur, posse juramenta, dum praestantur, confestim in mente aboleri, ut non obligent. Exemplo est R. Akifa, de quo *God. Kalla fol. 18. col. 2. med.* sequens refertur historia. Cum aliquando Seniores federent in porta [urbis] praeterierunt ante ipsos duo pueri, quorum alter caput texerat, alter retexerat. Et de eo quidem, qui caput [proterve, et contra bonos mores] retexerat, pronunciavit R. Elieser, quod esset spurius. R. Josua autem dixit, eum esse a muliere menstruata conceptum. At R. Akifa subjecit, esse illum et spurium, et filium menstruatae. Unde ceteri interrogarunt R. Akifam, quomodo tam audacter collegis suis contradiceret. Sed ille regeffit, se dicta sua esse confirmaturum. Abiit ergo ad matrem pueri istius, quam cum videret sedentem in foro, et vendentem legumina, dixit ad il-

lam. Filia mea, si tu mihi ingenue indicaveris id quod sum interrogaturus, efficiam ut potiaris vita seculi futuri. Ipsa autem postulante, ut jurejurando assertum suum roboraret, juravit R. Akifa labiis suis, sed corde suo jusjurandum hoc statim reddidit irritum. Tum R. Akifa : Dic, inquit, mihi qualis sit hic filius tuus ? Ad quae illa : Quando ego nuptias celebrarem, laborabam a menstruis. Ideoque secessit a me maritus, paranympheus autem meus [occasione arrepta] congressus mecum est. Atque ex eo concubitu extitit mihi filius hic. Unde apparuit, puerum istum esse non modo spurium, sed et menstruatae filium. Cumque id percepissent ceteri aliiessores, dixerunt : Magnus est Akifa, quando correxit doctores suos. *Edzard. Avoda Sara. Tom. i. p. 279. Conf. Wagenfeil. Confut. Tol. Jesebu. p. 14. 15. et Buxtorf. Syn. Jud. cap. vii. p. 132. 133.*

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“ thren? He answered, that he would prove the truth of what he
“ had said. Accordingly he went to the mother of the boy, whom
“ he found sitting in the market, and selling of herbs. He then says
“ to her, *My daughter, answer me a question, which I am going to*
“ *put to you, and I assure you of a portion of happinesse in the world*
“ *to come.* She answered: *Confirm what you say with an oath.* A-
“ *kiba* then swore with his lips, but at the same time absolved him-
“ self in his mind. Then he said to her: *Tell me the origin of this*
“ *your son?* Which she did, and confessed, that it was as he had
“ said. When he returned to his colleagues, and told them the dis-
“ coverie he had made, they said: Great is Akiba, who had cor-
“ rected the rest of the masters.”

An absolute fiction, the fruit of deep-rooted malice! Though (s)
no person is here named, there can be no doubt, who is intended.
And it is adopted by (t) the author of Toldoth Jeschu.

Our
Lord's
Journey
into Egypt

2. Upon Matt. ii. 14. *Lightfoot* observes as follows (u) “ There
“ are some footsteps in the Talmudists of this journey of our Savi-
“ our into Egypt, but so corrupted with venomous blasphemie, (as
“ all their writings are,) that they seem only to have confessed the
“ truth, that they might have matter more liberally to reproach him.
“ For so they speak [Bab. Sanhedr. fol. 107. a.] *When Jannay the*
“ *King slew the Rabbins, R. Joshua Ben Perachiah and Jesus went a-*
“ *way unto Alexandria in Egypt. Simeon Ben Shelah sent thither, speak-*
“ *ing thus. From me Jerusalem the holy city, to thee, o Alexandria in*
“ *Egypt, my sister, bealtb. My husband dwells with thee, while I in the*
“ *mean time sit alone. Therefore he rose up, and went. And a little after.*
“ He

(s) Haec historia teste videtur loqui de
Christo. *Buxtorf. ubi supr. p. 133.*

Ac de infantia quidem et natalibus Je-
schu, credo ego, creduntque Judaei hoc
mecum, sermonem esse, quamquam no-
mine penitus suppresso, in Massechet Calla,

quam et ipsam allegare convenit. *Wa-*
gens. ut supr. p. 14.

(t) *Apud Wagens. p. 5.*

(u) *Hebrew and Talmudical Exercitati-*
ons. p. 111. 112.

"He brought forth four hundred trumpets and anathematized [Jesus.]
 "And a little before that. *Elizaeus* turned away *Gebazi* with both his
 "hands, and *R. Joshua Ben Perachiah* thrust away *Jesus* with both
 "his hands."

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"And [Schabb. fol. 104. 2.] *Did not Ben Satda* bring enchantments
 "out of Egypt in the cutting which was in his flesh? Under *Ben*
 "*Satda* they wound our *Jesus* with their reproaches."

The storie of our Lord's journey to Alexandria with *Josua Ben Perachia*, when King *Jannay* killed the Rabbins, may be seen more at large in some other authors (x) to whom I refer. And I shall transcribe it (y) below, though I do not translate it entire. It is obscure. Nevertheless, the folly, the malice, and the falshood of it are apparent.

It

(x) *Vide B. Scheidii. Loca Talmudica, in quibus Jesu et discipulorum ejus fit mentio. p. 6. et Wagenfeil. Confutatio, libr. Toldos Jeschu. p. 15. 16.*

(y) *In Tr. Sanhedrin. f. 107. 2. et Sota f. 47. 1.* Quum *Jannai* Rex interfeciebat Rabbinos, fugiebat *R. Josua filius Parachiae* et *Jesus Alexandriam Aegypti*. Pace reddita, in haec verba *Simeon Scl et achides R. Josuae Perachiae filio* scribit. *Hierosolymae civitas sancta, tibi Alexandriae Aegypti. O soror mea, maritus meus in medio tui degit, at ego sedeo desolata. Surgens ergo ille veniebat eo, et pervenit ad quandam hospitam, quae omnibus honoris officiis eum prosequabatur. Tum dicebat [Josua] Quam pulchrum est hoc hospitium. Sed discipulus de hospita sermonem excipiens, dicebat ei: Mi magister, oculi ejus sunt teretes. Cui ille respondebat: Impie, taliane tu curas? atque feminas spectas intentius? Nec mora. Productis ergo 400 tubis, proclamari curabat eum [Jesus] esse excommunicatum. Saepenumero adibat [disci-*

*pulus] magistrum, obsecrans, ut sese denuo reciperet. Verum ipse ejus nullam habuit rationem. Die quodam, cum recitasset [Josua Perachides] lectionem, Audi Israel, Deut. vi. 4. accedit [Jesus] Perachidem. Nam putabat se receptum iri. Indicabat ei *R. Josua filius Perachiae* manu sua, quod vellet recipere eum. Ipse [Jesus] putabat, quod repellendo repelleret se. Abibat ergo, et suspendens laterem, eam adorabat. Dicebat [Perachides] illi: Resipisce. Cui ille respondebat: Sic a te ipso didici: Quod nulli, qui peccavit, et ad peccandum multis fuit auctor, facultas agendi poenitentiam suppeditetur? Nam dixerat *Mar [doctor Talmudicus]* *Jesus* ad magiam seduxit, et crimen, Deut. xiii. 5. 6. impulsione, vetitum commisit, et Israelitis ad peccandum auctor fuit. Ergo, ceu *Gemarici* volunt, deserto *Perachide* praeceptore, *Jesehu* totum se deinde magicis artibus in *Aegypto* addixit: cumque has intus et in cute teneret, in *Judaeam* se contulit. Apud *Scheid. et Wagenf. ubi supra.**

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It should be observed, that this storie of our Lord's journey into Egypt, with *Joshua Ben Perachiah*, has little agreement with the true historie in Matt. ii. 13. . . 23. For according to the Evangelist, Jesus was carried thither, when an infant, and was soon brought back again into Judea. But according to the *Talmudists*, Jesus was a young man, when he went thither with *Joshua Perachides*, who is supposed to have been his master or tutor. And according to them, when *Perachides* and *Jesus* had been some while in Egypt, they were informed, that peace was restored in Judea. As they were returning back, they were well received at an inn. Here *Perachides* and *Jesus* disagreed, and parted asunder. Nor could they ever be reconciled again, though some attempts on both sides were made toward a reconciliation. After that *Jesus*, as is said, wholly gave up himself to magical practises, and was excommunicated.

If by *King Jannai* be intended *Alexander Jannaeus*, here is a great anachronism. For he died fourscore years (z) before the Christian epoch. But I do not insist upon that. For, perhaps, it is owing to design, and not to ignorance.

If in the discourse between *Perachides* and *Jesus*, at the inn, where they first disagreed, there be an aspersión of our Lord's moral character, as if he too attentively observed the faces of women: it is of a piece with another charge of theirs, that *Jesus* endeavored to seduce men to idolatrie. Which we shall see presently.

I do acknowledge, however, that when I first observed this paragraph, I was not a little surprized. For *Origen* says, "that (a) " though innumerable lies and calumnies had been forged against " the venerable *Jesus*, none had dared to charge him with any in-
" tem-

(z) *Prideaux's Connexion*, year before
Christ 79. p. 396. 397.

(a) . . . πρὸς τὸν σεμνὸν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν, οὗ μηδὲ
ἐν μύθῳ κατηγορήσαντες, καὶ ψευδῆ ἔσα περὶ

αὐτὰ λέγοντες, δεδύνηται καταπαῖν, ὥς καὶ
τὸ τυχερὸν ἀκολασίας καὶ ἐπ' ὀλίγον γευσά-
μενα. *Contr. Cels.* l. 3. num. 36. *Bened.*
p. 32. *Sperc.*

“temperance whatever.” So says *Origen* about the middle of the third centurie. He speaks confidently, with full assurance. If he had ever met with such a calumnies, he would not have denied it. For he was perfectly honest and sincere. And if such a calumnies had appeared, he was as likely to know it, as any man. For he was acquainted with all sorts of people. And he had often conversed with the learned men of the Jewish nation, as well as others. This storie therefore was not in being in his time, not till after it. But reflexions upon a man's character unknown, till long after his departure out of the world, are destitute of authority, and deserve no regard. They only shew the bad temper of those who receive, or who invent and forge them.

Let me add one thought more here. We may reasonably conclude, and reckon it certain from *Origen's* work, that *Celsus* knew nothing of this storie. Consequently, it was not yet invented. For he had conversed with Jews, and made use of them to assist him in his argument against the Christians: and had picked up all the scandal he could get.

I must be allowed to observe yet farther. *Celsus* had made use of some disparaging expressions concerning our Saviour. Whereupon *Origen* says: “If (**) *Celsus* had alleged any kind of infamous actions in the life of *Jesus*, we would have done our best to answer to every thing that might appear so to him. As to the miserable death of *Jesus*, the same may be objected to *Socrates* and *Anaxarchus*, just mentioned.” *Celsus* therefore knew not of any such thing.

Finally, I do not recollect in the remains of *Celsus*, who wrote in the second, nor in *Origen*, who wrote in the third centurie, any

(**) 'Εἰ γὰρ τὰ εἰδὴ τῶ ἐπιρρητοτάτῃ βίῃ
ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτῶ φαινόμενα αὐτῶ ἐκτι-
θέμενος ἦν, καὶ ἠγωνισάμεθα πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν

δοκούντων εἶναι αὐτῶ ἐπιρρητοτάτων. *Contr.*
Cels. l. 7. §. 56. *Ben.* p. 369. f. *Sperc.*

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traces of this *journey of our Lord into Egypt with a tutor*. This storie therefore is a late, as well as a malicious fiction without ground.

The second quotation in *Lightfoot* shall now be more distinctly transcribed. "In (*b*) the Mishnical tract, called *Schabbath*, it is said: "If any one, especially on the Sabbath, draws a line, or makes a cut in his flesh, he is obliged to bring a sin-offering." But the wise men absolve him. Upon which words it is remarked in the *Gemara*. A tradition. R. *Elieser* said to the wise men. But did not the Son of Stada bring magical arts out of Egypt, in a cutting in his flesh? The *Gloss* says: The reason of that was, that he could not bring them away in writing, because the Priests diligently searched all at their going away, that they might not carry out magical arts, to teach them to men dwelling in other countries."

This is said, I suppose, to insinuate, that all the great works, ascribed to our Saviour, were performed by virtue of magical arts, which he had learned in Egypt. This insinuation has been considered, and well confuted by Grotius (*c*) to whom I now refer. Hereafter I shall transcribe his words at length, in the chapter of *Celsus*, where this charge will come over again.

3. Let us now observe, whether Jesus gained any disciples.

Lightfoot

(*b*) In tractatu *Schabbath* fol. 104. 2. in *Mishna* dicitur. Si quis [die Sabbathi] lineam ducat, seu incisuram faciat super carnem suam, R. *Elieser* eum reum censet sacrificii peccati. Sapientes autem absolvunt. Postea in *Gemara*, ad haec verba notatur: Traditio. Dixit R. *Elieser* ad Sapientes: At annon Filius Stadae extulit magicas artes ex Aegypto, in incisu-

râ, quae erat super carne ejus? *Glossa*. Quia non poterat eas efferre, vel educere, scriptas: quia Magi diligenter inquirebant in omnes qui exibant, ne efferrent artes magicas, ad docendum eas alios homines alibi terrarum habitantes. *Scheid. ib. p. 1. et Wagenseil. Consut. Told. Jeschu. p. 17.*

(*c*) *De V. R. Chr. l. 5. cap. iii.*

Lightfoot upon Mat. ix. 9. speaks to this purpose. "Five disciples of Christ are mentioned by the Talmudists. [Bab. Sanhedrim. fol. 43 r.] Among whom Matthew seems to be named. *The Rabbins deliver, there were five disciples of Jesus, Matthai, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, and Thodah.* These they relate, were led out, and killed. Perhaps five are only mentioned by them, because five of the disciples were chiefly employed among the Jews: namely Matthew, who wrote his Gospel in Judea, Peter, James, John, and Judas."

I shall now transcribe at length the passage of the Babylonian Talmud, to which *Lightfoot* refers: though it is so silly, that, when produced, some may think, it might have been omitted.

"The (*d*) Rabbins have taught, that there were five disciples
C c 2 " of

(*d*) Sanhedr. cap. vi. fol. 43. fin. Quinque tantum discipuli dicuntur fuisse Jesu Nazareno, quorum nomina, Matthai, sc. Matthaeus, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, et Toda, sc. Thaddaeus, qui alio nomine Lebbaeus fuit appellatus. Matt. x. 3. Verba integre ita habent. . . Rabbini docuerunt, quinque discipulos fuisse Jesu, Matthai, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, et Toda. Cum adduxissent Matthai, [ut capitis ipsum damnant,] dixit ille ad Judices: Num Matthai occidetur? Atqui scriptum est: Quando [Matai] veniam, ut compaream coram facie Dei? Ps. xlii. 2. Sed illi regesserunt: Omnino, Matthai occidetur, quia scriptum est, Quando [Matai] morietur, ut pereat nomen ejus? Ps. xli. 5. Cum adduxissent Nakai, dixit ille: Num Nakai occidetur? Atqui scriptum est. Ex. xxiii. 7. Infonem [naki] et justum non occides. Sed illi responderunt: Omnino,

Nakai occidetur, sicut scriptum est. Ps. x. 8. In latibulis occidit infonem. [Naki]. Cum adduxissent Nezer, dixit ad illos: Num Nezer occidetur? Atqui scriptum est, Es. xi. 1. Nezer e radicibus ejus fructum feret. Sed illi repofuerunt. Omnino Nezer occidetur, quia scriptum est. Es. xiv. 9. Tu autem ejectus es e sepulchro tuo, ut furculus [nezer] abominabilis. Cum adduxerunt Boni, dixit ille: Num Boni occidetur? Atqui scriptum est Ex. iv. 22. Filius meus [Beni] primogenitus est Israel. Sed illi regesserunt: Omnino Boni occidetur, sicut scriptum est Ex. iv. 23. Ecce ego occidam filium tuam [bincka.] primogenitum. Cum adduxissent Todam, dixit ad illos: Num Toda occidetur? Atqui scriptum extat. Ps. c. 1. *Psalmus* [Lethoda] *eucharisticus*. Sed illi responderunt: Omnino Toda occidetur, quemadmodum scrip-

A. D. 500. “ of Jesus, Matthai, Nakai, Nezer, Boni, and Toda. When
 “ Matthai was brought forth [*to be condemned to death*] he said to
 “ the Judges: Shall Matthai be slain? But it is written: *When shall*
 “ *I come* [Matai] *and appear before God!* Pf. xlii. 2. But they an-
 “ swered: Yes, Matthai shall be slain. For it is written: *When*
 “ [Matai] *shall he die, and his name perish!* Pf. xli. 5. When Na-
 “ kai was brought out, he said: Shall Nakai be slain? But it is
 “ written: *Thou shalt not kill the innocent,* [Nakai] *and the just.* Ex.
 “ xxiii. 7. But they said: Yes, Nakai shall be slain. For it is
 “ written: *In the secret places does he murder the innocent.* [Naki.]
 “ Pf. x. 8. When they brought forth Nezer, he said to them. And
 “ shall Nezer be slain? But it is written, *A branch* [Nezer] *shall*
 “ *grow out of his roots.* Is. xi. 1. But they answered: Yes, Nezer
 “ shall be slain. For it is written: *Thou art cast out of thy grave, as*
 “ *an abominable branch.* Is. xiv. 19. When they brought out Boni,
 “ he said: And shall Boni be slain? But it is written: *Israel is my*
 “ *son* [Beni] *even my first-born.* Ex. iv. 22. But they said: Yes,
 “ Boni shall be slain. For it is written: *Behold, I will slay thy son,*
 “ [bincka.] *thy first-born.* Ex. iv. 23. When they brought out
 “ Toda, he said to them: *And shall Toda be slain?* It is written:
 “ *A psalm to praise.* [Lethoda.] Pf. c. But they answered: Yes,
 “ Toda shall be slain. For it is written: *Whoso offereth praise,* [To-
 “ da] *glorifieth me.*”

Here it may be asked: Why do the Talmudists speak only of five disciples of Jesus? *Lightfoot*, as before seen, supposeth it to be, that these five men were chiefly employed among the Jews. *Edzardus* says: “ We (*e*) hence see, how false and fabulous every thing is,

scriptum est. Pf. l. 23. Qui sacrificat laudem [Toda] is honorabit me. *Ap. Edzard Avoda Sara. T. i. p. 298. 299. Conf. B. Scheidii Loca Talmudica de Jesu et Dis-*

cipulis ejus et Wagensel. Consult. T. I. p. 17.

(*e*) Quod si autem quinque tantum discipuli hi Jesu Nazareno fuerunt, unde er-

is, which the Talmudists say of Christ, and his disciples." Which, surely is not amiss. However, to me it seems, that the Jewish Rabbins affected silence and reserve about Jesus, and his historie, and said little about it, the better to keep their own people in ignorance, and bondage. *Wagenfeil's* reflexions upon this passage, are somewhat different. I place them (*f*) below: though nothing material can be said upon what is so exceeding trifling.

4. It may be questioned, whether *James* be one of the five disciples there named. I shall therefore allege a passage of the Talmud, where he is mentioned.

R. *Akiba* and Rabbi *Elieser* are talking together. " *Elieser* (*g*) " says, O *Akiba*, you have brought something to my mind. As I " was walking in the high street of *Zipporis*, I met one of the dis- " ciples of *Jesus of Nazareth*, whose name is *James*, a man of the " town of *Shecaniah*. He said to me: In your law it is written. " *Thou shalt not bring the hire of a harlot*. Deut. xxiii. 18. I did " not

go sextus, *Jacobus Sechanienfis*, cujus nomen inter quinque numeratos non apparet? Constat hinc, quam fabulosa sit Talmudistarum narratio de iis quae contra Christum atque discipulos ejus deblaterant. Ut alia confutatione non sit opus, cum se ipsos suis contradictionibus jugulent. *Edz. ibid. p. 299.*

(*f*) Apparet, ista huc tendere, quasi in viros illos, quorum nomina exprimuntur, ultimis poenis fuerit animadversum: etsi magis est ut credamus, ab otioso aliquo, et scripturae dicta, in lusum et jocum sic detorqueute, delirantis ingenioli ostentandi causa, ineptias has esse confictas. *Wagenf. ibid. p. 18.*

(*g*) In Tr. *Avoda Sara. f. 16. 2.* Tradiderunt Babbini. . . . Tum *P. Eliazar*,

In memoriam mihi, o *Akiba* revocasti, aiebat: me aliquando spatiatum in foro superiori urbis *Zipporis*, obvium habuisse aliquem ex discipulis *Jesu Nazareni*, cui nomen erat *Jacobus*, civis *Caphar*, vel viri *Saccanienfis*, qui dicebat mihi. In Legge vestra scribitur; *Non offeres mercedem meretricis. . . .* Quo audito, nihil profusus ei respondebam. Illo autem pergente mihi dicere. Sic docuit me *Jesus Nazarenius*. *Si ex mercede meretricia, meretrix quid colligat, usque ad mercedem meretricis revertetur.* Ex loco impuro si qua venerint, in locum impurum redibunt. Et profuit mihi verbum hoc opera hujus. . . . *ap. Scheid. Lecc Talmud. p. 5. 6. Et Conf. Edzardi Avoda Sara. Fol. i. p. 130.*

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5. We will now observe some passages concerning our Saviour's last sufferings.

*Of the
Death of
Jesus.*

Says Lightfoot upon Matt. xxvii. 31. “These things (*b*) are delivered in Sanhedrim [cap. vi. Hal. 4.] of one that is guilty of stoning: *If there be no defense found for him, they lead him out to be stoned, and a Cryer went out before him, saying aloud thus. N. N. comes out to be stoned, because he has done so and so. The witnesses against him are N. N. Whosoever can bring any thing in his defense, let him come forth and produce it.* On which thus the Gemara of Babylon. *The tradition is, that on the evening of the Passover Jesus was hanged, and that a cryer went before him for forty days, making this proclamation: This man comes forth to be stoned, because he dealt in sorceries, and persuaded, and seduced Israel. Whosoever*

(*b*) I shall put here an exact Latin version of the same. Tr. Sanhedrim. fol. 43. Mishna. Inventa reae partis innocentia, reus ille liber dimittitur. Sin minus, exit, ut lapidetur. Praeco autem exit ante eum, his verbis proclamans: Vir iste N. N. Filius alicujus N. N. exit, ut lapidetur, quia transgressus est talem transgressionem. Cujus rei testes sunt hi, N. N. et N. N. Quicumque noverit aliquid de ejus innocentia, veniat, et doceat de eo. Postea in Gemara ad verba Mishnae: praeco autem exit ante eum, &c. notatur. Atqui traditio est: Die Parasceves Sabbathi suspenderunt Jesum, et praeco exhibat

ante eum 40. diebus, his verbis prolatis proclamans: Exit ut lapidetur, quia magicas artes exercuit, seduxit, et impulit Israelitas. Quicumque ergo noverit aliquid de ejus innocentia, veniat, et doceat de eo. Cum autem nihil de ejus innocentia comprobanda inveniri potuisset, suspenderunt eum die Parasceves Paschatis. Dixit Ula: Et putetur, quod filius versorum seu contrariorum innocentiae ipse seductor est. Dixit autem Deus, Deut. xiii. 8. Non parces, neque teges super eo.” Deut. xiii. 8. et Conf. 5. et 6. Scheid. Loca Talmud. p. 7. 8. Conf. Wag. Confut. T. I. p. 19.

"soever knows of any defense for him, let him come forth, and produce
 "it. But no defense could be found. Therefore they hanged him upon
 "the evening of the Passover. Ulla saith, his case seemed not to ad-
 "mit of any defense, since he was a seducer, and of such God has said:
 "Thou shalt not spare him, nor conceal him." Deut. xiii.

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There is another place relating to the same event, the death of our Saviour, to be taken from the Babylonian Talmud. "The (i) *Mishna* explaining Deut. xiii. and shewing, who is the seducer there spoken of, says, Of all that are adjudged to die, to none of them are snares to be laid, excepting a seducer. For, if he has attempted two, and they bear testimonie against him, he is to be stoned. Upon this it is said in the *Gemara*. Against none are snares to be laid, except against a seducer of the people. [Meaning one who seduces to idolatrie.] And that is done after this manner. They light a candle in a closet or inner room, and place witnesses in another room, so that they may see him, and
 "hear

(i) *Sanhedrim* f. 67. 1. *Mishna*, de quo Deut. xiii. 6. Ex omnibus qui morti adjudicantur in Lege, nulli insidiae collocantur, hoc excepto. . . . Postea, in *Gemara* notatur: Ex omnibus, qui morti adjudicantur in Lege, nulli insidiae collocantur, hoc excepto [*seductori, qui aliud ad idololatriam, et cultum alienum cupit seducere.*] Quomodo faciunt id ei? Accendunt illi candelam in conclavi interiori, et testes collocant in cubiculo exteriori, ut hi ipsum videre, et vocem ejus audire possint. Sed ipse non videt illos. Tum ille, quem antea conatus erat seducere, dicit ei, Repete, quaeso, id quod ante hac dixisti hic privatim. Tum, si id dicat, hic regerit ei: Quomodo relinquemus Deum nostrum in Coelis, et serviemus idolis?

Ad hoc si convertatur, poenitentia acta, bene est. Si vero dicat: Hoc est officium nostrum, atque ita omnino decet nos facere, testes exterius audientes, eum ad domum judicii abducunt, et lapidant. [Conf. *Schabbath*. f. 104. 2.] sic fecerunt filio Stadae, [vel Stadtæ] in Lud, et suspenderunt eum in vespere Paschatis, seu pridie diei Paschatis. Filius Stadae filius Pandiræ est. Dixit R. Chasda: Maritus seu proculus matris ejus fuit Stada, iniens Pandiram. . . . Maritus Paphus filius Judæ ipse est. mater ejus Stada, mater ejus Maria, plicatrix capillorum mulierum erat: sicut dicimus in *Pompedita*. Declinavit hæc a marito suo. Glossa: Ideo quia scortata hæc erat, vocabatur ita. *Schedii Loca Talmud.* p. 1. et 2.

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 “time before he had endeavored to seduce, (*being with him,*) says to
 “him. Repeat to me now in private, what you before said to me. If
 “he then repeats it, the other says to him: How can we leave our
 “God who is in the heavens, and serve idols? If he then owns his
 “fault, and repents, all is well. But if he says: This is our duty, and so
 “we ought to do: the witnesses, who are in the outer room, carry him
 “to the house of judgement, and stone him. So they did to the son
 “of Stada in Lud, and hanged him on the evening of the Passover.
 “Rabbi Chasda said: the son of Stada is the son of Pandera....
 “His mother was Stada. She was Mary the plaiter of womens
 “hair: as we say in Pompedita, she departed from her husband. In
 “the Gloss it is said: she was so called, because she transgressed
 “the laws of chastity.”

This is translated by Lightfoot upon Matt. xxvii. 56. p. 270. after this manner. *They stoned the son of Satda in Lydda, and hanged him up on the evening of the Passover. Now this son of Satda was son of Pandira. Indeed Rabbi Chasda said, the husband [of his mother] was Satda, her husband was Pandira, her husband was Papus, the son of Juda. But yet I say his mother was Satda, namely Mary the plaiter of womens hair: as they say in Pombedita, she departed from her husband.*

In several other places of these Talmudical writers Mary is called a *plaiter of womens hair*, as may be seen in *Lightfoot*, p. 270. (*k*) And from some things alleged just now, it seems, that thereby they denote a transgressor of the laws of purity. And we are led to think, that by this description they intended to represent not her outward condition, but her moral character.

Upon the two foregoing passages relating to the event of our Saviour's death, we may now make some remarks.

First,

(*k*) *Vid. et Scheid. Loca Talmud. p. 3.*

First, it is here acknowledged, that Jesus suffered death as a malefactor. And that he was put to death at the time of a Jewish Passover, or on the *evening* of it, as the expression is.

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Secondly, But here are many great and notorious falshoods. It is here said, that Jesus was put to death at *Lud*: whereas it is certain, that he suffered at *Jerusalem*. It is insinuated, that he endeavoured to persuade men to forsake the true God, and worship false gods, and idols. Another abominable falshood. It is also insinuated, that he carried on this evil design of seducing men from the worship of the true God in a *clandestine* manner: whereas nothing is more certain, than that Jesus lived, and acted, and taught publicly before all the world. Farther, it is intimated, that for many days before his death, proclamation was made, that any who could say any thing in his defense might appear and plead for him. But no defense was made. It is also said, that he was put to death by *stoning*, and then *hanged* up. Which indeed was the usual method among the Jews, first to put criminals to death, and then hang them up. But Jesus was *crucified*. And though the Jews were his prosecutors, he was condemned, and put to death by a Roman magistrate.

It is truly surprizing to see such falsities, contrarie to well known facts. For the sufferings of Jesus, and the circumstances of them, are recorded in the Gospels, well known histories, writ in a language, which was then almost universal in Europe, Asia, and Africa. That Jesus was crucified at Jerusalem, when *Pontius Pilate* was Governour of Judea, under the Emperour *Tiberius*, was in all Christian Creeds, and attested by Roman Authors of good credit, and indeed was well known to all Greeks and Romans in general. How then was it possible for the Jewish Rabbins, whose testimonies are collected in their Talmuds, to speak in the manner, which we have now seen? Perhaps it is not easie to be accounted for. But I apprehend the Case to be this. The Rabbins taught and wrote in a language little known to any in the fourth and fifth centuries, but

A. D. 500. themselves, and the men of their own nation. Their people were ignorant, and they endeavored to keep them so. Their people had a great respect for them, and so they presumed to say whatever they pleased.

The power of Miracles in Jesus, and his Disciples.

6. There seems to be in these writings an acknowledgement of the power of miracles in Jesus, and his disciples. "In (1) the Gemara, "upon Avoda Sara, in Bareitha, it is said: No man may converse "with heretics, nor receive medicines from them, though the dis- "ease be mortal and desperate. Of this there is an example in the "son of Dama, nephew to R. Ismael by his sister. When he had "been bit by a serpent, James of Shechania [*a disciple of Jesus*] "came to heal him. But R. Ismael did not allow it to be done. "The son of Dama said to R. Ismael: O Rabbi Ismael, my uncle, "let me be healed by him. I will allege a text out of the Law, "which allows of it. But before he had finished all he would say, "he expired. Then Ismael pronounced this speech over him: "Thou art happy, o son of Dama. For thy body has remained pure, "and thy soul also has gone pure out of it. And thou hast not "transgressed the words of thy brethren."

This

(1) Similis locus habetur infra in *Gemara fol. 27. col. 2. med.* Sed isto ego. In Bareitha docemur. Non conversabitur quisquam cum haereticis, neque licet medicinam ab illis admittere, etsi morbus videatur ita desperatus, ut aegrotus non sit ultra unius horae spatium supersuturus. Estat quoque hujus rei exemplum in filio Damae, nepote R. Ismaelis ex sorore, quem cum inordinasset serpens, venit Jacobus Secanienensis ad sanandum ipsum. Sed non permisit ei R. Ismael. Dicebat quidem filius Damae ad R. Ismaelum: O Rabbi Ismael frater, [*i. e. cognate, avun-*

cule,] mi! Sine ipsum, ut saner ab ipso. Afferam enim textum e Lege, qui id concedat. Sed nondum absolverat omnia, quae constituerat dicere, cum jam efflaret animam, atque moreretur. Tum R. Ismael sequentem super ipsum conciunculam habuit. Beatus es, o fili Damae! quod corpus tuum manserit mundum, etiamque anima tuo corpore exierit munda, neque fueris transgressus verba Sociorum tuorum. &c. *Edzard. Avoda Sara. Vol. i. p. 312. Conf. Martini Pug. Fidei. P. 2. cap. 8. p. 289.*

This (*m*) is supposed to be an acknowledgement of the power of working miracles in the name of Jesus, at the same time that it shews the virulent temper of the Jewish Doctors against him and his disciples.

There is another like instance alleged from the Jerusalem Talmud. "A (*n*) child of a son of Rabbi Joses, son of Levi, swallowed somewhat poysonous. There came a man, who pronounced some words to him in the name of Jesus, son of Pandira, and he was healed. When he was going away, R. Joses said to him: "What word did you use? He answered, such a word. R. Joses said to him: Better had it been for him to die, than to hear such a word. And so it happened, that is, he instantly died."

Another (*o*) proof this of the power of miracles inherent in the disciples of Jesus, and at the same time, a mark of the malignity of the Jewish Rabbins.

That passage I have transcribed, as it is in the *Pugio Fidei*. I shall now (*p*) put it down below, as it stands in *Edzardi Avoda Sara*.

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(*m*) Memorabile hujus rei exemplum occurrit Cod. Abhoda zara f. 27. 2. de R. Ismaele vetante aliquem sanari in nomine Jesu . . . *Exemplo est B. Dama* . . . Insignis sane historia, et praeclarum veritatis Evangelicae testimonium, ab ipsis Judaeis dictum. *J. Rhenferd. Diss. de Redemptione Marcionum et Hieracleonit.* §. L. p. 215.

(*n*) Item in lib. *Sabbat Jerosolymitana*, distinctione Shemona Scheratzin. . . Filius filii R. Jose filii Levi glutiverat toxicum scilicet, vel aliud morbiferum. Venit itaque vir quidam et conjuravit ei in nomine Jesu Panderini, et sanatus est, sive quicquid. Cumque exivisset, ait ei, quomodo conjurasti eum? Ait ei, tali verbo.

Aitei, tali verbo. Ait ei: Remissus fuisset ei, si mortuus fuisset, ut non audivisset verbum tale. Et factum est sic ei: id est, statim mortuus est. *Pug. Fid. ib. p. 290.*

(*o*) Si quis diligenter advertat has duas traditiones, in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi fuisse facta miracula Judaicarum scripturarum testimonio comprobabit. *Raym. Martin. ib.*

(*p*) Similis textus est in Talmude Hierosolymitano Avoda S. Fol 40. 4. et Schabb. fol. 14. 4. med. . . Nepos R. Josuae filii Levi laborabat ab absorpto. [id est, diglutiverat aliquid, quod ipsi in gutture haerebat, et suffocationem minabatur.] Venitque quidam, qui illi clam insurrexit, [id est, jussit ipsum convalescere.]

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*Of the
Destruc-
tion of
Jerusa-
lem.*

7. It will certainly be worth the while, to take a testimonie from these writers to the destruction of Jerusalem, and the temple there. I shall therefore transcribe and translate almost word for word a long passage out of the Babylonian Talmud, in the title *Gittin*, chapter *Hannisab*.

“ This (*q*) is the tradition. Rabbi Eliafer said : Go, and see how
“ the

lescere.] in nomine Jesu filii Pandirae. Unde confestim respiravit. Quando autem egressus est inde, dixit ad eum R. Josua filius Levi. Quid infusurasti ei ? Respondit ille, vocem hanc [i. e. nomen Jesu.] Tum R. Josua : Praestitisset ipsum fuisse mortuum, et non audivisse nomen illud. Atque hoc ipsum etiam ei [haud longe post] contigit. *Edzard. Avoda zara. Vol. 2. p. 311. 312.*

(*q*) Traditio est. Dixit R. Eleaser : Exi, et vide quanta est virtus pudoris, quia ecce Deus Sanctus et Benedictus juvit Bar-kamtza, et destruxit domum suam, et exussit templum suum, et desolavit Jerusalem. . . . Ivit Romam, et dixit Nero ni Caesari : Judaei rebellarunt contra te. Dixit ei : Quis dicit ? Dixit ei mitte illis sacrificium. Videbis, si illi offerent. Ivit filius Kamtza, et misit per manus ejus vitulam trimam. Ipse autem rediens impressit in ea maculam in ora labii ejus. Alii dicunt, quod in pupilla oculi ejus maculam impressit : secundum aliquorum opinionem est macula. et secundum opinionem aliorum non est macula. Rabbinii censebant itaque illam sacrificandam propter pacem regni. Dixit eis R. Zacharias filius Onkelos : dicetur, Maculata offeruntur super altare. Voluerunt occidere eum ne iret, et diceret. Dixit eis R.

Zacharias, dicent : Mittens maculam in Sanctuarium occidetur ? Dixit R. Jochanan : Superstitio R. Zachariae destruxit domum nostram, et combussit templum nostrum, et urbem nostram evertit, et fecit ut nos e terra nostra captivi duceremur. Misit itaque Bar-Kamtza super his ad Neronem Caesarem. Quando venit, jecit sagittam ad orientem. Cecidit ad Jerusalem ad occidentem. . . Dixit puero. Lege mihi versum tuum. Dixit ei Ezech. xxv. 14. . . . Dixit Nero : Deus sanctus, benedictus, vult per me destruere domum suam. Misitque contra illos Vespasianum, qui venit, et obsedit Jerusalem tres annos, et dimidium. Interim venit nuncius ad eum, dicens illi : Surge, quia mortuus est Nero Caesar, et consenserunt tibi optimates Romanorum, ut te constituent principem. . . . Ivit, et misit Titum impium filium suum. . . . Hic est Titus impius, qui blasphemavit, et maledixit contra Justum, i. e. Deum. Quid fecit ? Cepit meretricem in manu sua, et ingressus in Sancta, Sanctorum stravit librum legis et transgressus est super illum transgressionem. Et accepit gladium, et dirupit vela, et factum est miraculum. Et fuit sanguis erumpens et exiens. Et putavit occidisse ipsam substantiam Dei sancti benedicti, i. e. ipsum Deum. . . . Quid fecit ? Accepit vela, et
fecit

“ the blessed and holy God helped Bar-kamtza, and he destroyed
 “ his house, and burnt up his temple, and made Jerusalem deso-
 “ late.” [*Here is inserted an account of a trifling discourse and differ-
 ence between some Rabbins.*] “ Whereupon he [Bar-kamtza] went
 “ to Rome, and said to the Emperour Nero, the Jews have re-
 “ belled against thee. Who says this, said the Emperour? Kamtza
 “ answered: Send to them a sacrifice. See if they will offer it. Bar-
 “ kamtza returned. Nero sent by him a heifer three years old. As
 “ he was going, he made a blemish in the mouth of it. Others say,
 “ in the pupil of it's eye. According to the opinion of others, it
 “ was no blemish. The Rabbins therefore thought it ought to be
 “ offered for preserving the peace of the nation. But Rabbi Zacha-
 “ rias, son of Onkelos, said: shall blemished sacrifices be offered
 “ upon the altar? He that brings blemished sacrifices into the sanc-
 “ tuarie, ought to be put to death. R. Jochanan said. The super-
 “ stition of R. Zacharias has destroyed our house, and burnt up our
 “ temple, and overthrown our city, and caused us to be led captive
 “ out of our land. Bar-kamtza therefore sent an account of these
 “ things to Nero.... Nero said: the great and blessed God has de-
 “ termined, by me to destroy his house. And he sent against them
 “ Vespasian, who came, and besieged Jerusalem three years and a
 “ half. In the mean time there came a messenger to him, who
 “ said: Arise, for the Emperour Nero is dead, and the Nobles of
 “ the

fecit illa sicut saccum, et adduxit omnia
 vasa quae erant in Sanctuario, et posuit il-
 la in illo. Et collocavit illa in navi, ut
 iret, et gloriaretur in urbe sua. . . . Stetit
 contra Draco, vel tempestas, in mari, ut
 demergeret illum in mari. Dixit: Puto
 ego, quod Deus horum nullam habet po-
 tentiam nisi in mari: Venit Pharaon, et
 submersit eum in mari. Stat etiam con-
 tra me, ut me submergat. Si fortis est,
 ascendet in siccum, et faciat bellum me-

cum. Exivit filia vocis, et dixit ei, Impie
 fili impii, fili filii impii Esau: Creatura
 vilis est mihi in mundo meo, et culex est
 nomen ejus. Ascende in siccum, et bel-
 lum contra illam geres. Statim inquit
 Deus mari, et quievit. Ascendit in sic-
 cum, et venit culex, et ingressus est in na-
 sum ejus, et perforavit illi cerebrum sep-
 tem annis, et occidit illum. *Ex libro
 Gittin. capite Hannifakin. ap. R. Martin.
 Pug. Fid. P. 3. cap. xxi. p. 703. 704.*

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“ the Romans have agreed to make thee Emperour. He went, and
“ sent the impious Titus, his son. . . . This is the impious Titus,
“ who blasphemed the Most High, even God himself. What did
“ he do? He took a harlot into the holy of holies, and there lay
“ with her. And he took a sword, and cut the veils. At the same
“ time there was a miracle. For blood burst out. He thought he
“ had killed God himself. . . Well, what did he? He took the veils,
“ and made a sack of them, and put into it all the vessels of the
“ Sanctuarie. And then put them in a ship, that he might go and
“ triumph in his city. . . There stood against him a dragon, that he
“ might drown him in the sea. He said, I think the God of these
“ men has no power but in the sea. Pharaoh arose, and he drowned
“ him in the sea. He has a mind to destroy me in the like man-
“ ner. If he has power, let him come upon the dry land, and
“ make war with me. There went forth a voice, and said to him :
“ O Impious son of the wicked man, o son of the impious son of
“ Esau, there is a contemptible creature in my world, called a gnat.
“ Go upon the dry land, and you shall make war against it. God
“ presently rebuked the sea, and it was calm. He went out upon
“ the dry land, and the gnat came, and entered into his nose, and
“ gnawed his brain seven years, and killed him.”

J. De Voisin, in his notes upon this passage, particularly the last words of it, quotes some Jewish authors, who say, “ the (r) storie of the fly is not to be understood literally, but mystically, and allegorically, intending to insinuate in men’s minds a persuasion of the power of God, and that he is able to abase those who rise up against him, and to punish the proudest of men by very contemptible creatures.”

(r) Alii asserunt illud de culice, sive musca ejusmodi, non juxta literalem sensum intelligendum esse, sed sensum habere mysticum. . . . Itaque poteris de historia Titi libere pronuntiare, quod narratio ejus nihil aliud sit, quam inventio, sive fabula, atque modus doctrinae usitatus apud eru-

ditos ad stabiliendum in corde plebis, quod magnus est Dominus noster, et potentissimus, ad retribuendum illis qui contra ipsum insurgunt: sed in primis ad puniendum superbos etiam per minimam creaturam. *Ap. Pugion. Fid. p. 714.*

tures." Nor is it any wonder, that some should be ashamed of this silly storie of the fly, getting up a man's nose, and dwelling there seven years. But men of true wisdom can find out more cleanly allegories than this, when they are disposed to make use of that kind of instruction.

Nor has *Voisin* alleged any Jewish authors, who condemn the horrible storie of Titus defiling the sanctuarie of the temple with lewdness: though *Martini* has alleged another Jewish writing in great repute, where (s) the same storie is told, with all the same horrible, or yet more horrible circumstances of filthiness, if such there can be. Nor is the concluding part of that narrative of the Talmud there omitted. But I presume, the Divine Being never arms his feeble creatures to destroy, or annoy men for no fault at all: for none, but such as are only imputed to them by those who give a loose to their tongues, to lye and calumniate, as they please. For Titus, when he went into the temple at Jerusalem all in flames, neither committed lewdness there, nor did he blaspheme the Deity.

Behold then the temper, the incorrigible temper of the Jewish people, and their Rabbins, the Talmudical writers. Their temple had been burnt up, their city destroyed, their land laid waste, and they carried into captivity. But instead of repenting, they revile him, who under God had been the instrument of their chastisement: a Prince, who, as good authority says, was as remarkable for the humanity,

(s) Hucusque Talmud. Legitur quoque in *Midrash Kohelet* super illud Eccles. cap. v. 8. . . . Dixit Deus sanctus benedictus Prophetis: Quid vos putatis, quod si vos non eatis in missionem meam, non sit mihi alius nuncius? In omni ego do missionem vel legationem meam, etiam per serpentem, vel scorpionem, vel culicem, vel ranam. Titus impius ingressus est in Sancta Sanctorum, quando destruxit domum Sanctuarii, et

gladius ejus districtus in manu sua, et dirupit duo vela, et accepit duas meretrices in manu illarum, et coivit cum illis, cum una super altare, cum altera super librum legis, et exivit, et gladius ejus plenus sanguine. Et incepit blasphemare, et execrari. Quid fecit? Collegit omnia vasa Sanctuarii, et posuit illa in saccho, et descendit ad navem. Et reliqua, sicut modo ex Talmude citata sunt. Ibid. p. 704. 705.

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manity, the compassion, and equity, in his manner of subduing them, as for his militarie skill and courage. Who then, are the men, who exalt themselves against God ?

But I may no longer indulge myself in such reflexions as these. Let us attend for our own benefit. Here is a testimonie to the destruction of Jerusalem from Talmudical writers. They agree very much with *Josephus*, in their account of the origin of the war. He says “ that (t) Eleazar, then captain at the temple perswaded those “ who officiated in sacred things, not to accept the gift or sacrifice “ of a stranger. Which was the occasion of the war.” The Talmudists say the same thing, in different words, after their manner. According to this account also, the war broke out near the end of the reign of *Nero*, who sent *Vespasian* General into Judea. Whilst *Vespasian* was there, carrying on the war, *Nero* died, and he was chosen to succeed him. When he was chosen Emperour at Rome, he sent *Titus* to carry on the war in Judea: The issue of which was, that the temple was burnt up, their city destroyed, and their whole government overthrown, and they carried into captivity. Moreover, as they here own, *Titus* was in possession of the veils, and sacred vessels of the temple, which he took with him to adorn his triumph at Rome. All this, (though they relate not particularly the distresses of the siege of Jerusalem) is said, not very differently from *Josephus*, and more agreeably to him, in some respects, than by *Josippon*, who afterwards wrote at length the historie of the war: as we shall see by and by.

(t) *De B. J. l. 2. cap. 17. §. 2. p. 192.*

C H A P.

C H A P. VI.

JOSEPH BEN GORION, OR JOSIPPON.

- I. *His Age, Work, and Character.* II. *Extracts from his Work, shewing his Historie of the Jewish War with the Romans, and the Destruction of Jerusalem.* III. *Concluding Remarks.*

I. **W**E are now coming to an Author of a very extraordinary, or even a singular character, writer of (*a*) the *Jewish Historie* in six Books, who styles himself JOSIPPON, or JOSEPH BEN GORION.

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*His Time,
and Work.*

He had a very high opinion of himself, and has now been for some while in great reputation with the learned men of the Jewish nation.

At the begining of the thirty sixth chapter, which is the first chapter of the fifth book, he writes: "So (*b*) says *Joseph Ben Gorion* the Priest, who has writ the things which have happened to

(*a*) Josippon, five Josephi Ben-Gorionis Historiae Judaicae libri sex. Ex Hebraeo vertit, Praefatione et Notis illustravit Joannes Gagnier. A. M. Oxon. 1706. 4to.

(*b*) Sic ait Joseph Ben Gorion Sacerdos, qui rerum historiam texuit, quae contigerunt Israeli, et calamitatem ejus, ut sit memoria earum in documentum, et eruditionem posteris ejus. . . .

Hic autem liber ab hac die, et deinceps

futurus est in testimonium ceteris scriptoribus, qui post me venturi sunt, et aggredientur scribere, et testimonia allegare. Dicent enim: "Sic et sic memoriae prodidit Joseph Sacerdos, qui est princeps scriptorum omnium, qui libros ediderunt quotquot reperti sunt in Israel, exceptis quidem scriptoribus quatuor et viginti librorum Sanctorum. lib. 5. cap. 36. p. 170.

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" Israel,

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“ Israel, and his calamities, to be a memorial and instruction to his
“ posterity. . . From this day, and henceforward, this book is to be
“ a testimonie to other writers, who shall come after me, and at-
“ tempt to write of the same things, and shall allege proofs of what
“ they write. For they will say : So and so has recorded *Jeseph* the
“ Priest, who is the prince of all writers, who have published books
“ among the people of Israel, excepting only the writers of the four
“ and twenty sacred books.”

And indeed so it has happened. For Rabbi *Tham*, who published this work in the Hebrew original at Constantinople in the year 1510. and made another edition of it at Venice in 1544. says of it in his preface. “ Although (*c*) this book resembles other books in some
“ respects, it is very different from them in others. The great dif-
“ ference between books consists in their truth, or their falshood.
“ The words of this book are all justice and truth, nor is there any
“ thing perverse in it. The evidence of it is this, that it approach-
“ eth nearer to prophecie, than any book writ since the sacred Scrip-
“ tures. For it was writ before the Mishna, and the Talmud. Up-
“ on that man was the hand of the Lord, when he wrote this book.
“ And it may be said, that his words are well-nigh equal to the
“ words of a man of God.”

This work is not so ancient as the author and his admirers pretend, as will be shewn presently. But from the time that he has begun to be taken notice of, as Mr. *Gagnier* observes in the preface to his edition

(*c*) Quamvis autem hic liber cum ceteris libris in genere conveniat, tamen ratione argumenti plurimum ab eis differt. Differentia autem illa praecipue consistit in veritate aut in falsitate. Porro hujus libri verba omnia sunt justitia et veritas : neque perversitas ulla invenitur in eo. Cujus quidem rei signum est, quod pro-

pius accedat ad Prophetiam, quam ceteri omnes libri, qui post Scripturas sacras editi sunt. Siquidem ante Misnam et Talmud scriptus fuit. Adde quod super virum illum fuit manus Jehovae, dum hunc librum componeret : et parum abest, quin ejus verba sint verba viri Dei. *Praef. R. Tham. De Scopo Libri.*

edition of this work, “all (*d*) Jewish writers, whether Commenta-
 “tors, or Historians, or Philologists, continually allege it, and quote
 “authorities and testimonies from it, as an authentic and funda-
 “mental book. . . As for the Greek *Josephus*, they have little re-
 “gard for him, or rather none at all: but declaim against him as
 “a lying historian, full of falsehoods and flatteries. But their *Josp-*
 “*pon* they extol and magnify as true, and almost divine.”

But Christian Critics, of the best credit, have argued, that the work is the production of a late age. They shew this from the work itself: in which, as (*e*) *Joseph Scaliger* has observed, people and countreys are called by modern names, not in use till more than six hundred years after our Saviour's nativity. And he supposeth him to be a Jew, that lived in France. He therefore considers him as an Impostor.

Fabricius (*f*) has argued in the like manner. He supposeth him

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to

(*d*) Deinde omnes qui secuti sunt Judaei Scriptores, sive Commentatores, sive Historici, sive Philologi, ubique eum allegant, et tanquam ex libro fundamentalis atque authentici testimonia et auctoritates depromunt. . . . Nam quod ad Josephum, Graecum adinet, illum non in magno solent habere pretio, imo ei nullam habent fidem, et tanquam in Historicum mendacem et adulatorem adversus illum acriter invehuntur. Suum vero Josippon quasi hominem veracem et pene divinum summis laudibus ad sidera evehunt, extollunt, et praedicant. &c. *Gagnier in Praef. p. xxix.*

(*e*) De Josepho Gorionide satis est, si ostendero cujus fuit, quando vixit, cujusmodi scriptor est. Gallum Judaeum fuisse ex agro Turonensi non difficile est

colligere, ut qui plus de illis quam de aliis Galliae tractibus agat. Recentem admodum fuisse arguunt verba locorum recentia, quibus utitur, Tours, Amboise, Chinon. Quae loca post DC annos a natali Christi adhuc Turones, Ambasia, Kainon Vocabantur. Quare cum Munsterus videret eum Francorum et Gothorum mentionem facere, et Francos interfuisse exequiis Herodis, quos *Γαλάτας* Josephus vocavit, ex eo solo potuit odorari hunc scriptorem recentissimum esse, ac proinde plenum, qui nomen Josephi Historici sibi vindicavit. *Jo. Scalig. in Elencho Trihaer. Vid. Gagnier. Praef. p. xlviii.*

(*f*) Ceterum eruditis hodie plerisque dubium non est, Josephum huncce Hebraicum ex Graeco, vel potius ex Latina Josephi versione esse expressum, vel excerptum

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to have been a Jew, who lived in Bretagne, in France, in the ninth or tenth centurie. The many modern names of people and countreys made use of by him, plainly declare his late age. His Hebrew historie is translated, or more properly extracted from the greek of Josephus, or rather from a Latin translation of him : taking from him what he likes, omitting some things, and adding others.

To the like purpose *Gagnier*, in his preface, already cited more than once. Who also says, “ that (g) Rabbi *Saadias Gaon*, who “ wrote his commentarie upon the book of Daniel in the year of “ Christ 936. is the first author who has mentioned *Josippon Ben* “ *Gorion*. He does not expressly name his work, though probably “ he refers to it.” *Gagnier* adds : “ The (h) first writer, who has “ expressly mentioned this work, with the name of *Josippon Ben* “ *Gorion*, and quoted authorities from it, is Rabbi *Solomon Jarchi*, “ who flourished about the year of Christ 1140.”

I refer likewise to (i) *Ittigius*, and *Basnage*, who in (k) his Historie of the Jews, has a long article concerning this writer and his work. He says, *Josippon* lived in the tenth or eleventh centurie. Which he argues after this manner. “ *Solomon Jarchi* (l) who wrote “ in

tum potius : nec Josephum ipsum auctorem, sed longe recentiore aliquem, qui in Britannia Galliae Armorica non ante nonum vel decimum seculum vixit, et pro lubitu digessit, addidit, interpolavit, omisit quaecunque ipsi videbantur addenda esse vel omittenda. . . . Ita recentiora longe Josepho tempora arguit, quod memorat Francos, et Burgundiae populum, et Daniscos, ac Danemanam, et Anglicam gentem, et quae in Irlandia sive Hibernia. *Fab. Bib. Gr. lib. 4. cap. 6. T. 3. p. 249. et apud Havercamp. Joseph. T. 2. p. 68.*

(g) R. Saadias Gaon, qui scribebat circa

annum 696. min. suppul. Christ. 936. in suo commentario in Danielelem primus omnium Josephi Ben Gorionis meminit. . . . *Gagn. Pr. p. xxvii.*

(h) R. Salomo Jarchi, qui florebat circa annum Christi 1140. primus est, qui disertè citat hunc librum sub nomine Josippon, vel Josephi Ben Gorionis, et auctoritates ex eo adducit, quarum loca habes infra in Testimoniis. *Gagn. ib. p. xxviii.*

(i) *Ittigii Prolegom. ap. Joseph. Havercamp. Tom. 2. p. 87.*

(k) *Basnag. Hist. des Juifs. liv. 7. ch. vi. p. 1539. . . . 1570.*

(l) *ib. §. xxv. p. 1564.*

“ in the year 1140. is the first, who has quoted this Hebrew Joseph.
 “ *Abraham Ezra*, and *Abraham Ben Dion*, who by their quotati-
 “ ons gave the work credit, lived in the same age. It would be very
 “ strange, that a work should be unknown for three or four hun-
 “ dred years, to the nation for whose sake it was composed. But,
 “ if it was writ near the end of the tenth, or the beginning of the
 “ eleventh centurie, it is not at all strange, that it did not begin to
 “ be taken notice of till some while after.”

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I say nothing more in the way of introduction. I shall now make such extracts out of this work, as may be sufficient to shew the writer's character, and his testimonie to the destruction of the temple, and Jerusalem by Vespasian and Titus. I have placed him in the tenth centurie, not very far from the beginning of it, in the year of Christ 930.

II. The work is divided into six books, and 97 chapters. The sixth and last of which books consists of five and fifty chapters.

*Extracts
from this
Work.*

The 43. chapter, which is the first of the sixth book, begins in this manner. “ Thus (*m*) says Joseph Ben Gorion, the Priest, the same who is also called Josippon. . . This is the book, which I have
 “ entitled THE WARS OF JEHOVAH, because it contains the historie
 “ of the calamities of the house of our sanctuarie, and of our land,
 “ and our glorie.”

My readers cannot but remember, that our Greek (*n*) *Josephus*,
 when

(*m*) Sic dicit Joseph Ben Gorion sacerdos. Ipse est Josippon, nomine quidem diminutivo Josippon. . . Hic est liber ille, quem appellavi titulo, BELLA JEHOVAE, eo quod continet historiam calamitatum

desolationis Domus Sanctuarii nostri, et terrae nostrae, et gloriae nostrae. *Lib. 6. cap. 43. p. 189.*

(*n*) *De B. J. l. 2. cap. 20.*

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when he gives an account of the determination of the Jewish people to go to war with the Romans, informs us, that they appointed *Joseph Ben Gorion*, and *Ananus* the High-Priest to preside at Jerusalem. Others were sent as Generals into several parts of the country: and himself, *Joseph son of Matthias*, was appointed Governour of the two Galilees, together with the prefecture of Gamala annexed to them.

Our author's account of the same determination is to this purpose:
 "The (o) Jews out of their Generals which were at Jerusalem chose
 "three princes valiant for war, Me *Joseph* the Priest, valiant for
 "war with the help of Jehovah, and *Ananus* the Priest, and *Eleazar*
 "his son, Priests also, and by lot they divided to them the several
 "parts of the country, in which they should carry on the war.
 "The third part, which was the first lot, containing the land
 "of Galilee and Naphtali, came out to *Joseph Ben Gorion* the
 "Priest. And they called him *Josippon*, by way of praise and honour:
 "forasmuch as he was then anointed with the militarie ointment
 "for the war. The second lot came out to *Ananus* the High-Priest,
 "to govern at Jerusalem and the adjoining country. The
 "third lot came out to *Eleazar*, son of Ananus, and what follows."
 This should be compared with what is writ by (p) *Josephus*.

Thus he adopts the appellation of *Joseph son of Gorion* * *. But per-

(o) Quae omnia cum audissent Judaei, elegerunt e ducibus, qui erant in Juda et Jerusalem, tres principes fortissimos bello, Me scilicet, Joseph Sacerdotem fortissimum bello cum auxilio Jehovah, et Anani Sacerdotem, et Eleazar Sacerdotem filium ejus, et praefecerunt illos super terram, et partiti sunt terram Judae inter illos per sortem, dederuntque illis praesidio manum Judaeorum ad bellum gerendum. Et obtigit tertia pars terrae per primam sortem scilicet, omnis terra Galileae a terra Nephtali, et deinceps, Josepho filio Go-

rionis Sacerdoti, in honorem et gloriam. Et appellaverunt illum Josippon in titulum dignitatis et laudis: quia tunc unctionus fuit unctione militari. Deinde fors secunda exiit pro Anano Sacerdote magno, Jerusalem scilicet, et omnia circum vicina loca, . . . Sors denique tertia egressa est Eleazaro filio Anani. &c. *Josipp. cap. 67. p. 293.*

(p) *De B. Jud. lib. 2. cap. 20. §. 1. 2. 3.*

(* *) Gagnier in his notes upon this place, p. 293. assigns some reasons, why this

personates *Joseph son of Matthias*. And like him, he is appointed Governour of Galilee. And all along he will be Josephus in the main, and another person, when he pleaseth. He will also transcribe the Greek Josephus, and copy a large part of his historie of the Jewish war, without taking any notice of him. If he differs from him, and adds to him, it is not taken out of any other writers better informed, but from his own invention only.

Being come into *Galilee*, he there orders things very agreeably to what we have formerly seen in our Greek Josephus. At length he (*q*) flies from Vespasian and Titus, and the Roman armie, and shuts himself up in *Jotapata*. Vespasian (*r*) with his armie comes before Jotapata. The (*s*) city is taken after a siege of eight and forty days. *Joseph* (*t*) himself, and with him forty more, go out of the city, and hide themselves in a cave. Vespasian sends Nicanor to Joseph with offers of peace and safety, if he would surrender. But (*u*) the forty men, who were with him, choose rather to dye by their own hands. After long arguing Joseph proposeth, that they should cast lots, till they were all killed. Which being done, there were none left alive, but Joseph, and one more, who at length consented
to

this writer chose to be thought *the son of Gorion*, rather than *the son of Matthias*. Cur autem hic noster Gorionis filius quam Matthiae esse voluerit, ratio videtur fuisse, quod cum nomen *Gorionis* cujusdam insignis viri mentio aliquando in Talmude occurrat, atque etiam *Nicodemi filii Gorionis*, in eam familiam ipsi se adoptare visum est, ut prodiret in lucem gratior contribulibus suis, eisque facilius imponeret. *Vid. reliqua ibid. Et Conf. not. (p) ap. J. f. Havercamp. p. 207.*

(*q*) At vero ut audivit Josephus, quod venit Vespasianus, et cum eo filius ejus Titus, omnisque exercitus ejus, ut prae-

lium committeret, fugit Josephus a facie eorum in Jotapatam urbem magnam, quae est in Galilaea: et inclusit se Josephus et omnis exercitus intra illam. *cap. 68. p. 299.*

(*r*) *Cap. 69. p. 300. et cap. 70. p. 301. &c.*

(*s*) *Cap. 71. p. 307.*

(*t*) Tunc surrexit Josephus ipse, et quadraginta viri ex militibus, qui residui erant cum illo, et egressi sunt ex urbe, fugeruntque in sylvam, ubi inventa caverna illuc intraverunt, delitueruntque omnes in illa caverna, &c. *Cap. 71. p. 307.*

(*u*) *Cap. 72. p. 315. . . . 319.*

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to surrender. Joseph (x) then calls to Nicanor, and they yield up themselves to him. Vespasian, when Joseph was brought before him, treated him kindly, and carried him about with him from place to place, together with (y) Agrippa.

So far there is a great agreement between our *Josephus*, and *Joseph Ben Gorion*. But now they differ. For Josippon entirely omits the compliments, which our *Josephus* paid to Vespasian.

Upon (z) the death of Nero, and after the short reigns of Galba and Vitellius, Vespasian is declared Emperour by the soldiers in Judea, and after some hesitation he is persuaded to accept of the diadem from them.

Some while (a) after that Vespasian takes part of the armie, and goes to Rome: but leaves the other part with Titus to carry on the siege of Jerusalem. However, he orders Titus to stay at Alexandria, till he shall send to him from Rome.

“ When (b) Vespasian left Judea to go to Rome, he took with him Agrippa, and his son Monbaz, least they should rebel against him. With himself, and them, he also took me Joseph the priest, bound with iron chains.” And when Vespasian was come to Rome, he ordered, that (c) Joseph should be sent to prison, and kept bound there.

Ves-

(x) *Cap. 73. p. 319. &c.*

(y) Cum ergo audisset Vespasianus Titum filium suum, recta visa sunt verba illius in oculis ejus, et clementia usus est erga Josephum sacerdotem, et prohibuit, quo minus moreretur gladio, et constituit eum principem, et magnum inter principes suos, et secum ducebat de urbe in urbem cum Agrippa rege. *Cap. 73. p. 321.*

(z) *Cap. 75. p. 333. 334.*

(a) *Cap. 77. p. 340.*

(b) Abiit itaque Vespasianus Romam. Cumque pergeret, ut iterum acciperet illic coronam regni, duxit secum Agrippam regem, et Monbaz filium ejus. Dixerat enim, ne forte rebellent contra me. Duxit praeterea cum eis, et secum, meipsum Josephum sacerdotem vinctum catenis ferreis. *Cap. 77. p. 340.*

(c) Tunc jussit, et vinxerunt me in domo carceris. Agrippam vero et filium ejus ipsorum arbitrio reliquit. *Ib. p. 341.*

Vespasian upon his arrival at Rome was received joyfully by the Senators and all the people in general. And (*d*) in a short time he is inaugurated with great solemnity. Agrippa and his son are allowed to be with the Senators. And Joseph himself, though a prisoner, is allowed by the keeper of the prison, to have a place, where he may see all.

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The (*e*) coronation is then described by him, in a pompous manner, seven Electors of the Empire attending, agreeably to the coronations of the Emperours in late ages, a good while after the time of Charles the Great, as (*f*) *Gagnier* observes in a note, which I shall place below. *Basnage* thinks, that (*g*) this Hebrew Joseph intends the coronation of Otho the first, or his son Otho the second. And he considers this article, as a proof, that Josippon lived in the tenth, or rather in the eleventh centurie.

“ Soon after his coronation, as this author says, Vespasian (*b*)
was

(*d*) Postridie illius diei congregati sunt omnes Senatores Romani, ut Vespasianum Caesarem crearent, secundum jus Caesaræ dignitatis pro consuetudine Romana. Porro Agrippa et filius ejus erant cum illis. At ego supplex rogavi principem domus carceris. . . . Et inveni gratiam in oculis ejus, et introduxit me in confessum regni, ubi fieri debebat Inauguratio Caesaris : attamen vinctum catenis ferreis, et collocavit juxta se in loco, unde vidi omnia quæ facta sunt. *Ib. p. 341.*

(*e*) Cum itaque perventum est ad illum locum, accedunt ad eum septem Reges coronis suis insignes, quas acceperunt de manu Caesaris, Electi vero jussu Senatus Romani. &c. *Ibid.*

(*f*) Fingit hic fabulator Josephum, id est, seipsum a Vespasiano Romam perduc-

tum fuisse, ut ibi spectator adesset ejus coronationis, quam describit cum omni illa ceremonia inaugurationis Caesarum, qualis longe post tempora Caroli Magni, sub Romanis Pontificibus instituta fuit, præsentibus nempe et ministrantibus Septem Imperii Electoribus, cum toto illo apparatu, quem fuse et lepide narrat. *Gagn. p. 341.*

(*g*) Tous ces caractères nous font croire, que le Joseph Hebreu n'a vécu qu'à la fin de dixième, ou plutôt dans l'onzième siècle, et que le couronnement, dont il a laissé la description, est celui d'Othon I. ou de son fils Othon II. *Basnag. ut sup. §. xxiv. p. 1563.*

(*b*) Post aliquot autem dies, ex quo Vespasianus Caesar factus fuit, indignatus est adversus Agrippam, quia calumniati sunt

cum

A. D. 930. was offended with Agrippa upon account of some calumnies cast upon him, which he had received from wicked men of the Jewish nation. Whereupon he slew Agrippa, and his son Monbaz with the sword. Which was done three years and a half before the desolation of the house."

So writes this author. Supposing Agrippa to have been put to death at this time, I do not conceive, how it could be done, *three years and a half* before the destruction of the temple. Besides, Agrippa survived the Jewish war and the destruction of Jerusalem many years: as is attested not only by Josephus, but also by ancient medals (*i*) still extant.

Rabbi Isaac, in his *Munimen Fidei*, writ in the (*k*) sixteenth century, has quoted this passage of our author. And I have put down his words in the margin: though, perhaps, they may be taken notice of again, hereafter.

In (*l*) the same year and month that Agrippa and his son were put to death, Vespasian sent for Joseph, and spake comfortably to him, and released him from his bonds. Joseph complained of the death of Agrippa. But Vespasian assured him, he had good reason for so doing. And now Vespasian sent Joseph to Titus at Alexandria, with a letter of recommendation. Joseph goes to Alexandria.

Titus

eum impij Israel, dicentes eum cogitasse perfide agere in illum, et idcirco misisse literas in Jerusalem ea de re. Interfecit itaque illum et filium ejus Monbaz gladio. Quod quidem contigit tribus annis cum dimidio ante desolationem domus. &c. *Cap. 77. p. 344.*

(*i*) *Vid. Gagnier in loc.*

(*k*) Verba, *Vae pastori meo nihili, derelinquenti gregem.* [Zach. xi. 17.] Agrippam respiciunt, qui Romam se contulit, atque inde evocavit Vespasianum, hujus-

que privignum Titum, adversus Hierosolymas, tandem autem irasci illi coepit Vespasianus, eumque una cum Monbaso filio securi percussit tribus et dimidio annis ante templi desolationem. Ceterum ob illam, quae inter regem Agrippam et improbos duces factiosorum exorta fuerat contentionem, denique desolatum fuit templum, uti ex Josepho constat. *Munimen Fidei. p. 417.*

(*l*) *Cap. 78. p. 344.*

Titus (*m*) and all his counsellors rejoyced at the arrival of Joseph. "For he was full of the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and valour, the spirit of knowledge, and of the fear of the Lord." After (*n*) some consultation, it was determined to go up to Jerusalem, and besiege it. "For Joseph knew that it was of the Lord, and that it was not possible, that the word of the Lord should be turned back." Titus therefore went from Alexandria to Judea.

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In (*o*) the first year of the reign of Vespasian, in the tenth month, and the seventh day of the month, came Titus with Joseph, and all his forces, and his armie, to the delightfull city of Cesarea. Where he was employed in collecting his forces from all parts, till he had compleated his armie for besieging Jerusalem. There (*p*) he stayed all the winter, till the month of Abib, or March. During this whole

F f 2

year,

(*m*) Postea profectus Josephus Romam venit Alexandriam. Cumque audisset Titus de adventu Josephi, laetatus est plurimum ipse, et omnes seniores et sapientes, qui cum illo erant. Josephus enim plenus erat spiritu sapientiae et intelligentiae, spiritu consilii et fortitudinis, spiritu scientiae, et timoris Jehovae. *Cap. 78. p. 346.*

(*n*) Postea consilium inierunt inter se, ut ascenderent in Jerusalem, et obsiderent eam. Sciebat enim Josephus a Jehova hoc esse, neque possibile esse, ut verbum Jehovae convertatur retrorsum. *Ib. p. 347.*

(*o*) Anno primo regni Vespasiani, mense decimo, die septimo mensis venit Titus cum Josepho, et cum omnibus copiis suis, et exercitu suo in urbem Cesareae gratissimam et desideratissimam omnibus, qui illam viderunt. *Cap. 79. p. 347.*

(*p*) Mansitque illic, donec complerentur dies brumae, et dies hiemis, et donec venirent dies Abib. Toto autem hoc anno primo regni Vespasiani, quo erectus est super regnum Romanorum, . . . ingruerunt praelia durissima in medio Jerusalem inter habitatores ejus per crudelitatem irae et furoris, et percutiebant unusquisque proximum suum, nulla interposita quiete aut uora. Quinetiam nulla cessatio belli fuit inter illos tota hieme, ut post est universae terrae, sed et aestate et hieme duraverunt praelia Simonem inter et Jehochananem. Porro tertius fuit Eleazarus. Atque hoc ab ipso die, quo proficiscens Vespasianus de terra Juda abiit Romam, ut illic de novo susciperet regnum Cesareae dignitatis, secundum jus consuetudinis Romanae. *Ibid.*

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If. xxix.
10.

year, the first year of the reign of Vespasian, were grievous wars and fightings in the midst of Jerusalem. From the time that Vespasian left Judea to go to Rome, there to receive the confirmation of the Empire, in summer and winter, were perpetual quarrels and contentions between the three parties, into which the people of Jerusalem were divided, and headed by three leaders, *Simon*, *John*, and *Eleazar*. “For (*q*) at that time God poured out a spirit of insensibility in the midst of Jerusalem. And they destroyed, as (*r*) this writer says, a thousand and four hundred garners, filled with things that might have been usefull in a siege. For there were in them provisions, sufficient to maintain two hundred thousand people for twenty years. But by the madnesse of these robbers all was consumed by fire. Which brought on the famine in Jerusalem.

And now this writer makes a long and grievous lamentation over (*s*) Jerusalem. Which in the Hebrew original, as (*t*) *Gagnier* observes, is a sort of metrical composition, not in use among the Jews, till long after the supposed time of the author.

Titus (*u*) draws out his numerous forces, and reviews them in a plain near Cefarea, and then moves toward Jerusalem.

It is not my intention to relate particularly from this writer, as I have

(*q*) Eo anno effudit Jehova spiritum vertiginis in medium Jerusalem. . . . p. 348.

(*r*) Porro numerus horreorum illorum in Jerusalem erat mille et quadringentorum: et omnia plene commeatibus victus pro tempore obsidionis. Tempore autem, quo Vespasianus venit in urbes Galileae, Seniores et viri fide digni, qui aestimaverunt quantitatem proventus horreorum illorum, invenerunt in illis esse commeatus et victus pro ducentis mille animabus per viginti annos. Et tunc in bello latronum,

haec omnia cremata sunt. Caepitque fames in Jerusalem. p. 350.

(*s*) Lamentatus est itaque Josephus lamentationem hanc super Jerusalem, et dixit. . . . cap. 80. p. 350. . . . 355.

(*t*) Lamentatio Josephi. In Hebraeo est carmen rithmicum. Quod genus poetæos multis post seculis a recentioribus Judæis, Arabum exemplo, usurpatum est. *Gagn. not.* p. 350.

(*u*) Postea Titus venit in planitiem Cefareae cum exercitu, et recensuit exercitum suum, &c. cap. 81. p. 355.

have done from Josephus, the attacks of Titus, and the defenses of the people in the city. I shall pass over a great deal.

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“ Whilst (x) they were hard pressed by the Romans, the three
“ parties within agreed, and joyned together in opposing the common
“ enemy. But as soon as the Romans gave them any respite, the three
“ rulers of the robbers within exercised a cruel war with one ano-
“ ther: insomuch that the blood of the citizens ran like a torrent out
“ of the gates of Jerusalem, in the sight of the Romans, who could
“ not forbear to pity them.” Those expressions are extravagant. But
what is here said may be compared with Josephus de B. J. l. 5. cap.
vi. §. 1. Upon this occasion our author made another lamentation.

After (y) having carried on the siege for some while, Titus draws
off from the city, and for several days ceaseth to make any attacks.
And by Joseph, who addresseth them in a very long speech, in their
own language, he makes them offers of peace, that he might pre-
serve their temple and city. But they hardened their necks, and
would not hear. In (z) this speech he tells them, not disagreeably
to

(x) Quando instabat praelium Romano-
rum, omnes ad invicem coalescebant, tan-
quam unus vir ad pugnam, et pugnabant
contra Romanos, fugabantque illos a se.
Et postquam fugaverant a se Romanos,
revertebantur ad se et incipiebant pugna-
re unusquisque in fratrem suum. Tunc-
que fiebat praelium magnum et durum
inter tres principes latronum crudelium,
donec egrederetur sanguis extra portas Je-
rusalem, tanquam torrens scaturiens de
scaturigine aquarum. Videbantque Ro-
mani sanguinem egredientem de portis
Jerusalem. Et conterebatur cor eorum
in medio ipsorum, et flebant, et dolebant
ea de re. Josephus autem Sacerdos sta-
bat cum eis. Tunc lamentatus est Jose-
phus lamentationem hanc iterum super

Jerusalem. Et prolocutus est Josephus
alte proferens vocem lamentationis, et
dixit. &c. cap. 82. p. 362. &c.

(y) Tunc temporis iussit populum suum
discedere a muro extra urbem, et cessare
a bello per aliquot dies, ut clamaret pa-
cem in auribus Judaeorum. cap. 84. p.
369. . . 377. et cap. 85. p. 378. . . 385.

(z) Nunc autem videte malum vestrum,
esse maximum, et quod Jehova non sit in
medio vestri, quia propter bella, quae ge-
ritis unusquisque cum fratre suo mox bre-
vi siccatae sunt apud vos aquae Siloe. At
vero in castris Gentium, quando congre-
gatae sunt contra vos, ecce aquae Siloe
redundant, et fluunt instar torrentis, et
fluvii magni pleni super omnes margines
suos. Cap. 85. p. 383. m.

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to what the Greek Josephus says [de B. J. l. 5. cap. ix. p. 350.] that for their sins, the waters of Siloam had before failed on a sudden: but now they flowed plentifully in the camp of the Gentils, fighting against them. In this speech he goes on, and says: "though (a) "I am in the camp of the Romans, I am still considered as one of "you. For with you is my dear wife, the wife of my youth, whom "I still embrace, though I have had no children by her. With "you also are my Father and Mother. He is now an hundred and "three years old, and my mother eighty five. I am sixty four years "of age, and have not yet attained to the term of human life."

Many (b) he says, wept at hearing him, and many people of meaner rank would willingly have gone out of the city, to surrender themselves to Titus. But the three leaders of the factions, Simon and Eleazar, and John, prevented them by their severe threatenings, and the strict guard they kept over them.

In (c) the mean time the famine encreased, and was very grievous.

The

(a) Porro, quanvis ego sim in castris Romanorum, tamen reputor idem, ac si essem vobiscum: quia ecce nunc uxor mea dilectissima, carissima, vobiscum est, uxor nempe juventutis meae. Neque respuo illam, et licet filii ex ea non sint mihi, nihilominus illam diligo plurimum, cum sit ex familiis nobilissimis et optimis populi Dei, et populi virorum. Quin et pater meus et mater mea, infelices, pauperes, sancti, senes, proveci in diebus apud vos sunt. Nam et pater meus est centum et trium annorum hodie. Mater vero mea octoginta et quinque annorum est hodie. Ego vero paucos et malos, et per varias tribulationes et aerumnas sexaginta et quatuor annos exegi, ac nondum attingi terminum, qui postulet mortem juxta viam naturae. &c. Cap. 85. p. 383. fin.

(b) Cum ergo audivisset populus verba Josephi sacerdotis, fleverunt plurimum. . . Et quidem summo opere optabat plebs infima exire ad Titum, et pacem inire cum illo juxta consilium Josephi. Sed astabant Simon, Eleazarus, et Jochanan, principes latronum, et praeposuerunt viros fortissimos ad portas. . . &c. cap. 86. p. 385.

(c) Interea fames ingravescibat in Jerusalem. . . Crescebat autem malum eo usque, ut populus comederet omne genus reptilium terrae a mure usque ad araneam, et ad serpentem, et mustellam, et bufonem. . . Si forte inveniretur in Jerusalem cadaver equi, aut cadaver cujuslibet bestiae, multi ex Israel inter se pugnabant, et mortui corrucebant, dum pugnarent super cadaver bestiae, aut super cadaver ferae. . . cap. 86. p. 385. 386.

The people ate mice, spiders, weasels, serpents, toads. And if the carcase of a horse, or other beast was found in any of the streets of Jerusalem, multitudes contended for it.

Titus (*d*) continues his attacks, but the Jews gain great advantages over him. They killed a great number of his men, and destroyed his platforms, which (*e*) gave him great concern.

Soon after that (*f*) Titus, as this author says, received numerous recruits from all nations and countreys, subject to the Roman Empire. At their arrival, Titus represents to their Generals and chief men the state of things, and how the Jews had prevailed, and still had great strength remaining. These recruits however, are very willing to engage with the Jews. And (*g*) out of the vast numbers of fresh men, supposed to be capable of doing more than the Romans, who were fatigued, and worn out, and discouraged with the fatigues of a long siege, were selected eighty thousand men, Macedonians, Britans, Syrians, Africans, Burgundians, Persians, Chaldeans. All these, without any Romans joyned with them, marched in order toward

(*d*) *Cap. 87. p. 388. . . . 391.*

(*e*) *Cap. 88. p. 391. 392.*

(*f*) *Eo tempore congregatae sunt innumerae turbae ex omnibus gentibus, et venerunt contra Jerusalem in auxilium Romanorum ex omnibus dominiis Caesareae dignitatis ad Romam pertinentibus. . . Narravit autem Titus senioribus gentium, quae sibi venerant in auxilium, ea omnia, quae sibi contigerant dum oppugnavit Jerusalem. . . Narravit etiam, quomodo perdiderant milites suos, et principes suos, . . . omnesque machinas suas dirutrices, et omnia instrumenta belli, quae secum habebat, corruperant. Cap. 88. p. 393. 394.*

(*g*) *Electi sunt itaque ex turmis natio-*

num illarum octoginta millia virorum, scilicet decem millia Macedonum, viginta millia virorum Britanniae, quinque millia Syrorum, decem millia virorum Africae, decem millia fortissimorum ex viris Burgoniae, quinque millia de filiis Cedar, decem millia militum ex fortissimis Persarum et Chaldaeorum. Et progressi sunt eo ordine, quo venerunt: neque unus Romanus ex illis. Abierunt autem in planitiem, quae erat e regione Sepulchri Jehochanan Sacerdotis magni. Et caeperunt miscere praelia cum Judaeis, qui erant super murum, et admovere scalas cum instrumentis ligneis quibus tegebantur, ut ascenderent ad eos supra murum. Ib. p. 394. 395.

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toward Jerusalem, and encamped near it. And then they began to attack the wall, and to fight with the Jews that were upon it.

“ Now (*b*) the three leaders within the city, John, and Simon, and Eleazar, consult together between themselves, and with their friends, what was best to be done. It was agreed, that two should go out of the city, and the other abide within. John then, and Eleazar went out, having with them fifteen hundred of the most valiant of their men. They prevailed, and slew their enemies with the edge of the sword from morning to evening. The day on which this battle was fought, he says, was the ninth day of the month Thebet, which was the tenth month from the arrival of Titus before Jerusalem. And they slew of the hosts of the Gentils, seven and fifty thousand and five hundred. They took captive three thousand of their chiefs, putting the rest to flight. Of the Jews there fell on that day seven men. And they brought off their dead and their wounded to Jerusalem: where they buried their dead, that the uncircumcised might not insult them.”

“ Whereupon (*i*) John and Eleazar returned to Jerusalem with
“ their brethren, singing a hymn of triumph, and offering praises
“ to

(*b*) Egressi sunt ergo Jehochanan et Eleazarus cum mille et quingentis fortissimis Latronum et percusserunt turmas gentium plaga gladii, . . . a mane diei pugnae usque ad vesperam. Quod quidem contigit nona die mensis Thebet, qui fuit decimus ab adventu Titi in Jerusalem, et prostraverunt ex turmis gentium illarum quinquaginta septem millia cum quingentis. Et ceperunt ex eis vivos ter mille principes, ceteris in fugam coniectis. Ex judaeis autem ceciderunt illa die septem viri, et vulneratos suos secum extulerunt latrones, ut illos sepelirent, ne insultarent eis incircumcisi. *Ib. p. 395.*

(*i*) Venerunt itaque Jehochanan et Eleazarus in Jerusalem cum fratribus suis cantantes hymnum, et gratiarum actiones Jehovahae. Reliquiae autem fugientium ex turmis nationum illarum reversae sunt ad castra Titi cum ignominia. . . . Postridie Latrones acceperunt tria millia principem, quos comprehenderant vivos, effoderunt unicuique eorum oculum, manumque amputaverunt, atque ita remiserunt eos ad castra Titi, ut ipsi essent dedecori et opprobrio. *Ib. p. 395.*

“ to Jehovah. The rest of those nations returned to the camp of
 “ Titus, in shame and confusion. . . The day after the Robbers took
 “ the three thousand chiefs, whom they had brought captives, and
 “ put out an eye of every one of them, and also cut off one of their
 “ hands, and so sent them back to the camp of Titus.”

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All fiction, surely, without any ground or authority from Josephus, or any other ancient writer, that we know of! We here plainly see, that the author was an artfull man. He knew how to flatter and please his own nation. And he has obtained his end. He is in admiration with them.

At that (*k*) time Titus consulted with his Generals, and his soldiers, and his whole armie, that it might be determined what was best to be done, especially considering the strength and fortitude of the Jewish people. After a long consultation, the opinion of Titus, which he was resolved to adhere to, was, that the siege of the city should be continued, without making any attacks upon it. For says he, their provisions fail already, and will be all speedily consumed. Moreover, they will quarrell among themselves, and thus hasten their ruin. And we shall overcome.

“ And indeed, says (*l*) this writer, the famine prevailed greatly.

(*k*) Eo tempore Titus consilium inivit cum principibus, et militibus suis, et cum filiis populi sui Romanis, et cum populo omnium nationum, quae cum eis convenerant, dicens: Quid faciemus contra Israel, et contra fortitudinem ejus? . . . At consilia eorum omnium contemtui fuerunt coram Tito. . . Dixit ergo eis Titus. Hoc est consilium meum, quod a me ipso juxta rectam rationem profertur, neque ab eo recedam. Cedo, teneamus urbem hanc obsessam, neve oppugnemus illam amplius. Victus enim et commea-

tus eorum omnino defecerunt, neque cibus est apud illos. Haud dubium, quin fames illos consumptura est: neque etiam dubium est, quin, quando viderint nos non amplius miscere praelia cum illis, ipsi praelia misceant inter se, unusquisque adversus fratrem suum. . . *Ib. p. 395. 396.*

(*l*) Porro, nisi grassata fuisset fames in Jerusalem, nunquam perrupta fuisset urbs, neque capta in aeternum. Fortes enim Israel erant velociores aquilis, et fortiores leonibus. *Ib. p. 396.*

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“ And, if it had not, the city could not have been broken up, nor
“ taken for ever. For the valiant of Israel were *swifter than eagles,*
“ *and stronger than lions.* 2 Sam. i. 23. But the famine consumed
“ them. The streets were filled with dead bodies, nor were there
“ any to bury them. And when Titus saw the dead cast out from
“ the city, like dung upon the earth, he was much affected at the
“ sight, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he fell down upon his
“ knees, and said : This is not my work. He had desired peace.
“ But the people would not accept of it.”

In (*m*) the following, the 89 chapter, is an account of several acts of cruelty, committed by Simon in putting to death *Amittai*, or *Matthias*, and others.

In (*n*) the mean while, as he says, in the 90 chapter, *Gorion*, the Priest, father of Joseph, who wrote this book for Israel, to be a memorial and testimonie to them, was a prisoner in one of the towers upon the wall, bound in iron fetters. Joseph came near to the place, hoping to see his aged father. But the Jews cast stones at him, and wounded him. And now likewise he at length gets a sight of his mother. She was not bound with chains, though she was kept prisoner in the house of Simon. But she got upon the wall to see her son, and make her lamentations to him. His father was about 103 years of age, and his mother 85.

It is observable, that about this time, after the slaughter of *Amit-tai* or *Matthias* and his sons by order of *Simon*, *Josephus* (*o*) also makes mention of his father and mother, as being in Jerusalem. And
about

(*m*) *Cap.* 89 *p.* 397. . . 406.

(*n*) Interea Gorion sacerdos, pater Josephi sacerdotis, qui scripsit hunc librum Israeli, ut esset illis in testimonium, et in memoriale, tunc erat victus catenis ferreis, et in vinculis aereis in una e turribus Jerusalem. Ipse autem senex procellerat in diebus, natus scilicet centum

et trium annorum. . . . Eo tempore venit Josephus, filius ejus versus murum e regione turris, in qua erat pater ejus Gorion sacerdos tunc illic victus. . . *Cap.* 90. *p.* 406. &c.

(*o*) *De B. J. l. 5. cap. xiii. num. 1. 2. 3.*

about this time also Josephus was wounded: not for attempting to see his father, or mother, but as he was going round the city, near the walls of it, proposing arguments to the people within to surrender to Titus for their benefit.

The (*p*) famine being very severe in the city, many Jews in good circumstances went out in order to go over to the Romans. But it being found, that some of them had gold and jewels hid in their bowels, they were ript up by the Arabian and Syrian soldiers, which were in the armie of Titus. Some of the Roman soldiers did the like. In this practise the Arabians and Syrians killed a thousand Jews. When Titus heard of it, he was exceedingly grieved and provoked. And he gave orders, that all who had done this thing should be put to death, and that their goods should be given to living Jews, heirs of the dead. Upon this occasion six thousand Arabians and Syrians suffered death.

A most unlikely thing, and mere romance! No General would shew such favour to a resolute people, whom he was besieging with an armie. Josephus says, that (*q*) two thousand of the Jews were thus cruelly destroyed by the Syrian and other soldiers for the sake of the gold hid in their bodies. He also says, Titus was much dis-

G g 2

pleased,

(*p*) Porro Judaei, qui egressi fuerant de Jerusalem ad castra Romanorum . . . deglutierunt aurum et argentum, et gemmas et lapides pretiosos. . . . Cumque animadvertissent nonnulli ex Syris et Arabibus illos ita facere, indicavit rem unusquisque socio suo. . . . Tum apprehenderunt illos, et scissis eorum visceribus, invenerunt intra viscera aurum, et lapides pretiosos. . . . Factusque numerus scissorum per manus Syrorum et Arabum mille animarum. Cumque audivisset Titus

rem illam pessimam, . . . indignatus est, et accensus est furor ejus admodum. Tunc jussit comprehendi omnes, qui patnaverunt hujusmodi facinus pessimum, et jugulari, ac deinde dari omnes facultates eorum Judaeis vivis haeredibus mortuorum. Et mortui sunt propter hoc facinus, jussu Titii, tum ex Syris, tum ex Arabibus sex millia virorum. *Cap. 91. p. 411. 412.*

(*q*) *De B. J. l. 5. cap. xiii. §. 4. 5. p. 361. 362.*

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pleased, and would have ordered his horse to surround the criminals, and kill them with darts. But he considered, that the number of the guilty exceeded that of the slain. He therefore was obliged to content himself with forbidding that cruelty for the future, upon the pain of heavy punishment.

This author moreover says, “ that (*r*) strict inquiry was made by Titus after the Romans, who had been guilty of the like action. And they were found to be three hundred and twenty men, whom Titus ordered to be burnt to death, in one pit or cistern. After which all Jews, who came over to Titus were treated by the soldiers very civilly, and they lived very quiet and unmolested in his camp.” All fiction from this author’s fruitfull invention! And the storie is made out, as it seems, to do honour to his nation, at the same time, that their city was falling into ruin, and they going into captivity!

He likewise tells the storie which Josephus has done of the crucifixion of the Jews before the walls of the city, five (*s*) hundred in a day, and sometimes more, as Josephus says. But this author tells it very differently in this manner. Some (*t*) went out of the city with

(*r*) Fuitque numerus eorum, qui reperti sunt, tum eorum qui fecerunt, tum eorum qui noverant, trecentorum et viginti virorum. At jussit Titus servis suis, et combusserunt omnes in medio cisternae unius. Et deinceps Judaei cum fiducia in castris Titi degebant, neque ultra fuit adversarius, aut incurfus malus. Sed quotiescunque Romanus inveniebat Judaeum aliquem perplexum aut errantem extra castra procul, clam illum deducens comitabatur usque dum ad castra incolumem, et

tranquille, et cum securitate bona reduxisset. *Cap. 91. p. 413.*

(*s*) *De B. J. l. 5. cap. xi. n. 1.*

(*t*) Quando aliqui ab urbe exibant cum uxoribus, et filiis, et filiabus, et parvulis suis, ut invenirent herbas, . . Romani qui illos inveniebant, jugulabant natos eorum, et dicebant: Jugulemus hos parvulos, ne adolescant, et successu dierum pugnent nobiscum, sicut patres illorum. Idcirco Romani trucidabant infamam plebem, quotquot exibant ab urbe, et suspendebant illos

with their wives, and sons and daughters, and little ones, to gather herbs for food. And the Romans slew all the young people, saying: *Let us kill these, lest they grow up and fight against us, as their fathers have done.* So the Romans acted from day to day, till the number of slain, and hanged up, amounted to five hundred. The like to this was done within the city by Simon and John and Eleazar. They killed and hung up upon the walls all the Romans, which they could catch, and all their own people who endeavored to go out of the city, till they amounted also to the number of five hundred. Which when Titus saw, he gave strict orders to all the men of his armie, not to kill any Jews that came out of Jerusalem. If any did so, they should be put to death. For his bowels yearned over Israel.

So says this fantastical writer.

He computes the taking of *Antonia* to have been on the fifth day of Sivan, the third month, on the eve of the feast of Weeks, or Pentecost, the fourteenth month from the coming of Titus to besiege Jerusalem. So (u) at the end of ch. 91.

He

illos ad arbores ex adverso portae Jerusalem. Sicque faciebant Romani quotidie. Pervenitque numerus occisorum, et suspensorum ad quingentas animas. Idem etiam faciebant Simon, Jehochanan, et Eleazarus, iis omnibus, quos capiebant ex cohortibus Romanorum, postquam illos per insidias circumvenerant. Eodem modo animadvertabant in eos, qui querebant exire, ut perfugerent ad illos. Jugulabant enim eos, et cadavera suspendebant super murum ex adverso Romanorum. . . . Fuitque numerus suspensorum per manus Latronum quingentorum virorum, tot scilicet numero, quot suspen-

debant Romani ex Judaeis. Itaque Titus praecepit omnibus viris exercitus sui dicens: Quicumque interfecerit aliquem ex iis, qui egrediuntur de Jerusalem, morietur. Et quidem ita fecit Titus, quia flagrabant viscera ejus super Israel. *cap. 86. p. 386.*

(u) Ut autem vidit Titus Turrim Antoniam esse in Laqueum Romanis, jussit Titus ut diruerent illam. Quod quidem contigit in quinta in Sivan, mense tertio, in vespera festi Hebdomadarum. Ipse est mensis quartus decimus ab adventu Titus ad obsidendam Jerusalem. *cap. 91. in fin. p. 420.*

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He proceeds (x) in the 92 ch. to relate contentions and fightings of the Jews and Romans at the Temple or near it, which I need not rehearse particularly: especially, since it is not all exact truth, or matter of fact, but exaggeration agreeable to this author's fanſie.

At the begining of the (y) 93 chapter, he tells the ſtory of Mary, who in the extremity of the famine killed her only child, and dreſſed it, and ate a part of it. The ſame ſtorie, that is told by (z) Joſephus: but their harangues upon the event are different.

In the next chapter (a) the temple is on fire, and the doors of the houſe of the ſanctuarie were opened on the ninth day of the fiſth month, the ſame day of the month, in the which it had been opened in the time of the Chaldeans. The ſoldiers rejoiced greatly.

But

(x) P. 420. . . 431.

(y) P. 431.

(z) *De B. J. l. 6. cap. iii. §. 4.*

(a) Poſtridie congregati Romani miſerunt ignem in Sanctum Sanctorum in circuitu. . . . Mox incaluit aurum, et combuſta ſunt ligna valvarum, et ceciderunt in terram, et aperta ſuit Domus Sancti ſanctorum in oculis omnium menſe quinto nona die menſis, eo ipſo die, quo aperta fuerat Domus Sancti ſanctorum in diebus Chaldaeorum. Et ſtatim ut aperuerunt Romani portam Sancti Sanctorum, et ceperunt illud, tunc vero vociferati ſunt clamore magno mirum in modum prae laetitia. . . . Cucurrit autem Titus totis viribus ſuis, ut extingueret ignem. . . . Ac tandem deſeſſus deſatigatusque corruit ad terram viribus exhaustus. . . . Poſtquam itaque incenſa ſuit Domus Sancti ſancto-

rum, ſurrexit Titus, et ingreſſus in Sanctum ſanctorum vidit gloriam Domus, et decorem ejus, et ſplendorem illius. . . . Nondum enim tota Domus incendio conſumpta erat, ut pulchritudinem illius, et majeſtatem ejus contemplaretur. Tunc dixit Titus: Nunc cognovi, quia non eſt hic aliud, niſi Domus Dei. Hoc eſt habitaculum Dei coelorum, et tabernaculum ejus. . . . Quia magna eſt majeſtas Domus hujus, et magnus ſplendor majeſtatis Templi ejus longe ſupra Templum Romanorum, et omnia Tempia nationum, quae vidi. . . . Deinde ſurrexerunt Romani, et exſtincto incendio, idola, et imagines ſuas in Templo ſtatuērunt. Et obtulerunt eis holocauſta, et probro affecerunt Judaeos, et Legem eorum coram idolis ſuis plaſphemarunt. *Cap. 94. p. 436. . . 438.*

But Titus was much concerned, and ran toward the temple, and did all in his power to have the fire extinguished, calling aloud to his men, till he was hoarse, and persisting in his exclamations, as this author says, till he fell to the ground almost dead. And the Priests at the temple fought, as long as they were able. And when they saw the fire prevail, they threw themselves into it. As there remained no hopes of preserving the temple, Titus, before it was entirely consumed, went in, and greatly admired it. . . . Soon after that the Romans sat up their idols, and images in the temple, and offered sacrifices to them, and reviled the Jews, and blasphemed their law, before their idols.

He now comes to the signs and prodigies, foresignifying the calamities that were coming upon the Jewish people, which also are mentioned by Josephus (*b*) in this same place, after the burning the temple. “Nor (*c*) did the Jews attend to the words of the signs, “which happened in Jerusalem, though they were very awful; For “a year before Vespasian came, there appeared over the temple a “blazing star in the shape of a man, in whose hand were drawn “swords. The day in which this sign was seen, was the first of the “feast of the Passover: and during the whole night the temple was “illuminated, as if it had been day. And so it continued throughout the seven days of the Passover.” Thus confounding, as it seems, the first two signs in Josephus, and making them one only, and likewise representing the blazing star somewhat differently from Jo-

(*b*) *De B. J. l. 6. cap. v. num. 3.*

(*c*) Neque Judaei animum adverterant ad verba signorum, quae contigerunt in Jerusalem. . . . Nam anno uno antequam veniret Vespasianus, apparuit super Templum stella quaedam scintillans instar formae hominis, in cujus manu gladii distric-

ti. Dies autem, quo visum est signum illud, fuit primus ex diebus festi Paschatis: et tota nocte illius diei Templum fulsit, et resplenduit tanquam lux diei, et ita factum est per totos septem dies Paschatis . . . *Cap. 94. p. 438.*

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Josephus. Then follow in him the other signs taken from Josephus. But I shall not rehearse them. He has, particularly, that of the man of low rank, who for several years travelled through the streets of Jerusalem, with his mournfull denunciation of *Woe to the city*. Whom (*) he calls *Joshua, son of Hananiah*.

When (d) the Romans had got possession of the temple, the Jews fled to mount Sion. Here our author useth a different stile from Josephus, who has never used the word *Sion* in his writings, but always describes that part of the city by other Names.

Now (e) some Priests came to Titus, entreating mercie. But he would not grant it, and ordered them to be put to death.

Now (f) also John and Simon sent messengers to Titus, proposing to surrender to him, if he would grant them their lives. But Titus rejected their proposal, and reproached them severely.

Whereupon (g) Titus ordered the war to be renewed, and carried on by his armie with vigour.

At (h) this time *Zarach* [or *Izates*,] of royal descent, and his brothers,

(*) Porro quatuor annis ante haec signa fuit vir quidam in Jerusalem, de populo terrae, seu plebeius, nomine Joshua, filius Chananiae, et coepit clamare voce magna die ipso festi Tabernaculorum. . . . Oderunt autem illum omnes cives urbis. &c. *Ibid.* p. 439.

(d) Postquam itaque ingressus fuit omnis exercitus Romanorum in Templum, dis-fugerunt Judaei ad montem Sion. *Cap.* 95. *in* p. 440.

(e) Postquam autem libaverunt Romani coram Domino suo Tito, ecce pars Sacerdotum, qui capti fuerant juxta Tem-

plum, deprecati sunt Titum, ut seipfos vivos servaret, neve interficeret. . . . Tunc Romani irruerunt in illos, et mortui sunt omnes. *Cap.* 95. p. 440.

(f) Simon autem et Jehochanan miserunt ad Titum sermones pacis, et deprecationis, orantes pro seipfis, ut vivos servaret. . . . *Ibid.* p. 440.

(g) Tunc jussit Titus Romanis instaurari bellum cum principibus Latronum Jehochanane et Simone, quandoquidem se tam pertinaciter gerebant. . . . *Ib.* p. 441.

(h) Eo tempore surrexit Zarach, qui quidem

thers, came down from mount Sion, and surrendered to Titus, and were well received by him. Whereupon Simon and his adherents set fire to their goods and treasures, which they had left behind them, that they might not come into the hands of the Romans.

Simon (*i*) and John escape, and hide themselves in a cavern. Many Jews of good condition surrender to Titus, and he receives them favourably.

Joshua (*k*) a Priest, son of *Shebutli* High Priest, comes to Titus, bringing with him two golden candlesticks, which were in the sanctuary, and golden tables, and divers other rich utensils of the temple, and vestments of the Priests, and precious stones. All which he made a present of to Titus, who received him graciously.

At (*l*) this time also came out *Gorion*, the Priest, father of the
writer

quidem erat de filiis Regum, de monte Sion cum fratribus suis, et cum omnibus filiis feminis regii, . . . et venerunt ad Titum, qui excepit illos cum honore, . . . et benigne tractavit. . . . Cum ergo viderent Jochanan et Simon principes Latronum abiisse Izatam cum ceteris filiis Regis, . . . abierunt ipsi, et combusserunt omnia, quae pertinebant ad filios Regis, et incenderunt Domum, et omnes thesauros ejus combusserunt, ne acciperent eos Romani. . . . *p. 441.*

(*i*) Tunc temporis fugientes Simon et Jehochanan, in quadam latebra absconderunt se, quocunque se contulerint. Ceteri vero eorum, qui erant cum eis, et principes Jerusalem, et nobiles Juda, . . . statim atque viderunt fugisse Simonem et Jehochananem, . . . tunc descenderunt . . . et venientes ad Titum, procubuerunt ante faciem ejus in terram . . . Et Titus benigne excepit illos. . . *ib. p. 442.*

(*k*) Sub id tempus venit ad Titum Joshua, sacerdos, filius Shebuti, Sacerdotis Magni, et attulit secum duo ex candelabris aureis, quae fuerant in Sanctuario. Avexit autem secum omnes mensas aureas, et omnia vasa aurea, . . . et crateres, et aeceras, . . . et scutellas, ac etiam vestes Ministerii, et vestes sanctitatis coopertas auro, et circumcinctas lapidibus petiosis, cum magna copia gemmaram. . . . Quae omnia donavit Tito, a quo benigne acceptus est. . . . *ib. p. 442.*

(*l*) Tunc temporis egressus est Gorion, sacerdos, pater Josephi Sacerdotis, Authoris Historiarum libri hujus, de carcere suo, de turri videlicet domus Simonis Latronis, cum uxore sua, et cum filio Bonian. Is erat frater Josephi Sacerdotis natu minor. Ille quoque Bonian fuit sapiens, magnus, et sacerdos sanctus. . . . Nam reliquit eum Titus in Jerusalem, neque abductus fuit ab eo, quemadmodum Josephus,

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writer of this Historie, and his mother, with their son *Bonian*. They came out of the house of Simon, in which they had been kept prisoners. *Gorion* * * * lived twenty months after taking the city of Jerusalem. *Bonian* was a wise, and good man. Titus did not take him to Rome with himself, as he did Joseph: but left him to preside over the Priests in that countrey. Now also *Phineas*, a Priest, brought more of the holy things out of the temple to Titus. But our author blames both these Priests, for delivering such things into the hands of an enemy of the people of God. However, I do not perceive him to make any mention here of the book of the Law.

At (*m*) that time therefore was taken Jerusalem, with all its desirable

phus. Vixit autem pater Josephi postquam capta est Jerusalem, viditque Josephum filium suum, per viginti menses, et mortuus est. Tunc etiam temporis captus est Phineas Sacerdos, custos cellarum sacrarii, in quas contulerat omnes thesauros sacerdotum, et vestes sacerdotum sanctas, et dedit Tito Thesaurum unguenti optimi, et aromata, et vestes purpureas, quibus sanctificaverant Sanctuarium Reges Domus secundae, et omnia vasa aurea, quae apud se habebat de vasis Domus Jehovae. *Ib.* p. 443.

(* *) According to Josephus, Gorion was put to death by the zealots, before the siege of the city began. See above, p. 170. and De B. J. l. 4. cap. vi. §. 1. What therefore this Author says of his father and mother must be all fiction and falsehood.

(*m*) Tunc itaque temporis capta fuit Jerusalem, cum omnibus rebus desiderabilibus ejus. Deinde ascendit Titus in montem Sion, et cepit illum. Jussit autem destrui murum civitatis Sion. Jam vero clapsa triduo deficiebat anima Jehochana-

nis principis Latronum, prae fame. Surrexit itaque de loco ubi latebat, et egressus inde abiit ad Titum, et corruens ante faciem ejus, et deosculatus pedis ejus dixit ei: Serva, quaeso, Domine mi Rex. Tunc jussit illum Titus constringi vinculis ferreis gravissimis, et abduci illum, et circumvehi per totum exercitum suum, atque ignominiose tractari. . . . tandem post septem dies mortuus est strangulatus. . . . Postea egressus est etiam Simon Latio, homicida impius, de loco latebrae suae, quia fames graviter premebat illum. . . . Tunc dixit eis: Venite, et vocate mihi ducem, et tradam me illi. . . . Et vocaverunt Rurpha, . . . qui tunc erat Rector seu praefectus militiae Romanorum. . . . Et sic fecit ille, deduxitque eum ad Titum. Statim autem ut vidit Titus Simonem, jussit illum vinculis constringi, . . . et abduci, et circumvehi per totum exercitum suum, et ignominiose tractari, et subfannari, quemadmodum fecerant Jehochanani. Erat autem victus catenis aereis. Tum denique jussit Titus interfici illum in vinculis. Itaque

firable things. And then Titus went up to mount Sion, and took it, and ordered, that the wall of the city of Sion should be demolished. And three days after that *John* one of the princes of the Robbers, being pinched with hunger, came out of his hiding place, and surrendered to Titus, begging mercie of him. But Titus commanded him to be bound with heavie iron chains, and gave orders that he should be led about before his soldiers to be derided and insulted by them, and after seven days he was hanged. And now also immediatly in the same connexion, he relates the appearance of *Simon*, though it could not be, till some while afterwards. He was first brought before the Roman General *Rupha*, or Rufus, and then before Titus. Who commanded him to be bound, and to be led round the whole armie, to be exposed and insulted by them, as *John* had been. After which he was beheaded, and his body was cut to pieces, and thrown to the dogs."

Moreover (*n*) as he goes on, the number of the people that were
H h 2 slain,

que amputaverunt illi caput antequam moreretur. Tum dissecuerunt eum in partes, et projecerunt membra cadaveris ejus canibus. *Ib. p. 443. 444.*

(*n*) Porro numerus totius populi eorum, qui occisi sunt, quatenus potuerunt cognosci tunc gladio cecidisse sive per Romanos, sive per Latrones, ex populo Judaeorum, sive qui de proximo, sive qui de longinquo venerant ad festum, festum scilicet Johovae in Jerusalem, et restiterant illic propter obsidionem, corrueruntque gladio: numerus, inquam, fuit millia millium, et centum millia: praeter illos, qui quidem occisi sunt, sed cognosci non potuerunt, ut numerarentur. Illi enim tan-

tummodo numerati sunt, qui sepulti et cogniti fuerunt. Qui autem cognosci non potuerunt, non recensiti sunt in numerum. Praeter eos quoque, qui postea mortui sunt cum Eleazaro filio Anani sacerdotis, post mortem Jehochananis, et Simonis, Latronum et Tyrannorum crudelium.

Numerus autem populi ex Judaeis, qui abierunt cum Tito in captivitatem, et quos abduxit secum Romam, sexdecim millia. Et abduxit quidem Romam Josephum Sacerdotem: Bonian vero ejus fratrem reliquit in Antistitem super Sacerdotes, qui remanserunt in Jerusalem. Ita enim deprecatus fuerat Josephus frater ejus, et suscepit faciem ejus, et ita fecit.
. . Nam

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slain, so far as could be found, who were killed by the Romans, or the robbers, of all the people of the Jews, who from the neighboring countrey, or from far off, had come up to Jerusalem, to the feast, the feast of the Lord, and were shut up in the city by the siege, was eleven hundred thousand, beside many others, whose number was not found, and beside those who died with *Eleazar*, after the death of *John* and *Simon*.

The number of the people of the Jews, who were taken captive by Titus, and carried with him to Rome, he says, were sixteen thousand. He also took with him to Rome *Joseph* the Priest. But *Bo-nian*, his brother, he left to preside over the Priests in that countrey. But as for those, whom he took captives, he says, that Titus put to death at Jerusalem all, and every one of them in an ignominious manner, excepting only such, as he reserved to take with him. And them he caused to die in a very ignominious manner. For in all the cities, where he made any stay, in his return to Rome, he ordered some of them to be thrown to lions, and other wild-beasts, untill all, whom he had taken with him, were destroyed.

So says our author. The number of the captives, according to *Josephus* [De B. J. l. 6. ix. 3.] were ninety and seven thousand. Many of whom, according to him, were sold for slaves. But this, so far

as

... Nam quoad ceteros ex eis, quos Titus cepit vivos, ne unum ex eis vivere passus fuit: sed omnes Latrones residuos, quotquot vivos comprehendit, interfecit Titus morte probrosa, et ignominiosa in Jerusalem. Quosdam tamen ex eis secum suffragites asservavit, ut contumelia eos afficeret per singulas urbes transitus sui cum contenderet Romam. Cum itaque profectus est Titus de Jerusa'em, accepit eos secum, et abduxit etiam secum reliquum

populum captivitatis, quem captivum fecerat ex Judaeis: cumque morabatur in singulis urbibus transitus sui, dum iter faceret Romam, in quacunque urbe, ubi castra metabatur, educebat quosdam ex latronibus illis, et jubebat illos objici leonibus, et feris pessimis, ut devorarent illos, donec consumpti sunt omnes latrones, quos secum habebat. Cap. 95. p. 444. 445.

as I see, is quite omitted by our Author, as also the triumph of Vespasian and Titus for their conquest of Judea.

But why does he omit these things? To me it seems, to be owing to the pride of his heart. The Temple had been burnt, Jerusalem was destroyed. The whole country of Judea had been subdued by the Romans, uncircumcised and idolatrous people. Facts which he could not deny, or disown, however dishonorable and reproachfull to his nation. And he has himself related these events, in his way and manner. But yet he was, as it seems, desirous to save his nation from some circumstances of reproach, and dishonour. He therefore forbore to say any thing of the triumph of Vespasian and Titus: though performed in the metropolis of the vast Empire of the Romans, and published and recorded in public and durable monuments, as well as in writings of the best credit. From the same principle of pride and vanity, he forbore to say, that at this time many Jews, the people of Israel, had been sold for slaves, to live in slavery to uncircumcised Gentils. So it seems to me. And I think it may deserve to be taken notice of by us, that in the fictitious history, which he has given of his journey to Rome, and the inauguration of Vespasian there, he has mentioned a particular, somewhat resembling this. “For after the coronation of Vespasian, and “the death of Agrippa, and his son Monbaz, before-mentioned, “when Vespasian began to shew favour to Joseph, and ordered his “chains to be struck off, Joseph (o) presented a petition to Vespasian,

“an,

(o) Dixit vero Josephus: Nonne opprobrium mihi est referari a me catenas ferreas, et interim vincula filiorum Israel, qui mecum sunt Romae, non etiam referari tuo jussu? Si ergo nunc audieris me, quandoquidem inveni gratiam in oculis tuis, solves quaeso, vincula omnium Israelitarum, qui mecum sunt Romae, et ero tibi

consiliarius fidelis omnibus diebus, et inimicus ero inimicus tuis, et adversabor adversariis tuis. Fecit itaque Vespasianus secundum sermonem Josephi, et solvit omnia vincula omnium victorum filiorum Israel, qui erant cum Josepho Romae. *Lib. 6. cap. 78. p. 346.*

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“ an, in behalf of all sons of Israel, who were then in prison at Rome, entreating that they might be set at liberty : and upon that condition promising, that he would for the future be a faithfull counsellor to the Emperour, and serve him according to the utmost of his ability. Which petition was granted by the Emperour, and all Israelites, who had been bound at Rome, were set at liberty.” Which must be allowed to be one of the fictitious events of that voyage to Rome, which is throughout the fiction of this writer’s fertile invention, who says what he pleaseth.

After this our Author (*p*) tells the storie of *Eleazar*, and his men at *Massada*, but somewhat differently from (*q*) Josephus. He does not say, that they determined to kill themselves and one another. His account is, that (*r*) after the speech of *Eleazar*, they killed their wives and daughters, that they might not fall a prey into the hands of the enemy. And (*s*) then the men went out of the city, and fought with the Romans. Of whom they slew very many, till they were themselves all killed. And, says he, “ Here end the wars of the second House.”

After which follows (*t*) this Author’s final lamentation, and in a rithmical

(*p*) *Cap. 96. p. 447. 448. et cap. 97. p. 452.*

(*q*) *Vid. De B. J. l. 7. cap. viii. ix.*

(*r*) Tunc surgentes viri uxores suas, et filias suas accersunt, quas osculati, et complexi ita alloquuntur. Melius est in oculis nostris, ut moriamini in terra vestra cum sanctitate et honore, quam ut eatis in captivitatem, et cum opprobrio in terram inimicorum vestrorum, et cum idolis gentium, . . . et contumelia moriamini. . . . *Cap. 97. p. 452.*

(*s*) Postea egressus est Eleazarus Sacer-

dos cum omnibus viris bellatoribus qui secum erant ex urbe, et miscuerunt ingentem pugnam cum multitudine exercitus Romanorum, et occiderunt multos ex eis absque numero. Ac tandem pugnantes Judaei contra proprias ipsorum animas, donec omnes absumerentur in praelio illo mortui pro Jehova, et pro sanctuario ejus. Huc usque definunt Bella Domus secundae. *Cap. 97 p. 452.*

(*t*) Tunc lamentatus fuit Josephus Sacerdos Dei, lamentationem hanc. . . . *p.*

452.

rithmical sort of poësie, as *Gagnier* (*u*) observes, very different from that among the Hebrews at the time when their temple was destroyed.

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“ Woe (*x*) is now unto us !
For the City of our glorie is laid waste,

And

(*u*) Lamentatio Ben Gorionis ultima, eaque Rithmica, quam ut Leoninae cujusdam inter Judaeos specimen poeseos non injucundum hic Hebraice subjungimus. Et credat Lector, si potest, sine risu, hanc ab ipso Flavio Josepho compositionem fuisse tempore Templi excidii. *Gagnier Not. p. 472.*

(*x*) Vae nunc nobis.

Quia desolata est civitas gloriae nostrae.

Et eversa est Domus Sanctuarii nostri.

In quo posita fuit spes nostra.

Et omnia desideria cordium nostrorum.

Et incensum est Templum nostrum.

Et migravimus de terra nostra.

Et ex haereditate Patrum nostrorum.

Neque ad Deum [extendimus] manus nostras.

Ut liberaremur de exiliis nostris

Quae aggravaverunt super nos.

In illum [commisissae] iniquitates nostrae.

Et redegerunt nos in captivitatem peccata nostra.

Et humiliaverunt in terram capita nostra praevaricationes nostrae.

Sed adhuc veniet dies, et terminus

Redemptionis, et adjacet Deus noster,

Ut recordetur juramenti sui ad Patres nostros.

Et aedificabit civitatem nostram,

Et restaurabit Templum nostrum,

Et colliget dispersos nostros,

Et reducet captivitatem nostram,

Et accelerare faciet Messiam nostrum,

Et festinabit ad redimendum nos.

Et prosteret inimicos nostros.

Et humiliabit ocores nostros.

Et perdet, et delebit hostes nostros.

Et nos restituet, sicut in principio.

Cap. 97. p. 452. 553.

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And the House of our Sanctuarie is thrown down.
 In which our hope was placed,
 And all the desires of our hearts.
 And our Temple is consumed with fire.
 And we have been carried out of our country,
 And from the heritage of our Fathers.
 Nor have we stretched out our hands to God,
 That we might be delivered from our exiles.
 And our sins and iniquities
 Have been aggravated upon us.
 Our transgressions have carried us into captivity.
 And our apostasies have brought us down to the earth.
 But the day will come, and the time of our Redemption.
 And our God will deliver us.
 He will remember the oath made with our Fathers.
 And will build up our city,
 And restore our Temple,
 And gather our dispersions.
 And will bring back our captivity.
 And hasten the coming of our Messiah,
 And will speedily deliver us.
 And will cast down our enemies,
 And will humble those who hate us.
 And will destroy, and root out all our adversaries.
 And will restore us, as at the begining.

Here, beside other things, which an attentive reader will observe,
 he expresseth his expectation of the rebuilding the temple at Jeru-
 salem. So likewise, when he gave an account of Herod's building, or
 repairing the temple, he describes the rejoicings made upon that oc-
 casion: "For (y) the building, says he, of the house of the Lord,
 which

(y) Et laudaverant Jehovam cum gau- vae, quam vidimus, et aedificatam, devas-
 dio . . . propter aedificium Domus Jeho- tatam. Sed adhuc reaedicabitur tertio
 cum

which we have seen; both built, and destroyed. But it shall be raised a third time in honour and glory, and shall be established for ever." And in like manner in another (x) place. He is therefore a good witness to the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem, which had been raised after the return from the Babylonish captivity. In which, as we say, the Prophets had foretold, the Messiah would make his appearance. See Hag. ii. 6. . . 9 and Mal. iii. 1.

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After his lamentation this author adds, "But (a) Titus left a remnant of Israel in the land of Israel, in the city Jabne, and it's towns, and in the city Bether, and in it's towns, and in Osha, and it's towns." Of all which cities, as Gagnier (b) in his notes observes, there is no notice taken by Flavius Josephus: though there is in the Talmudical writings, and he refers to Lightfoot's works such as are inquisitive.

This author proceeds. "Moreover (c) Titus reigned two years

cum laude, et celebritate, et gloria, et firmabit eam Jehova in aeternum. l. 6. cap. 55. p. 243.

(x) Cap. 65. p. 288. *sub fin. et p. 289.*

(a) Reliquit autem Titus Israeli reliquias in terra Israel, in urbe Jabne, et in oppidis ejus, in urbe Bether, et in oppidis ejus, et in Osha, et oppidis ejus. Cap. 97. p. 454.

(b) Tres illas urbes, vid. Jabneh, Bether, et Oshah, hoc loco commemorat Ben-Gorion noster, non ex Josepho auctore suo, qui nihil hic habet de hac Belli Judaici Coronide, sed ex Pandectis Talmudicis, ubi frequentissima illarum mentio occurrit. De quarum urbium situ et celebritate maxime post everfa Hierosolyma, consulenda est doctissimi Lightfooti

Chronographia Terrae Israelis. Cap. xv. lii. et lxxxiv. Gagn. Not. p. 474.

(c) Regnavit autem Titus duobus annis postquam cepit Jerusalem, et mortuus est. Porro Titus Rex fuit sapiens, magnus in scientia eloquentiae, tum in lingua Graeca, tum in lingua Romana, et composuit libros multos cum sapientia Graece et Romane. Fuitque Titus vir justus et rectus, et omnia judicia ejus erant cum justitia. Verum necessitate coactus desolavit et delevit Jerusalem. Et quidem desolavit et delevit eam, quia omne malum illud, quod venit super Jerusalem, non venit nisi per Latrones, qui erant in Israel, et propter impietatem illorum, uti memoravimus. Cap. 97. p. 456.

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“ after he had taken Jerusalem, and then died. Titus was a wise
“ King, and composed many valuable books both in the Greek, and
“ in the Roman language. Titus was a just and upright man, and
“ all his judgements were in righteousness. But being compelled
“ by necessity he destroyed and laid waste Jerusalem. All which
“ evil came upon Jerusalem, because of the robbers, which were
“ in Israel, and because of their wickedness, as we have shewn in
“ this historie.”

He here says, that *Titus reigned two years, after he had taken Jerusalem.* Which is very inaccurate. Vespasian did not die before the year of our Lord 79. After him Titus reigned more than two years and died in the year, of Christ 81. Nor does our author say any thing here of Vespasian, as he ought to have done. But we must not stay to remark upon the defects or inaccuracies of this writer. If we had so done, we should never have got through his work. And every reader is able to observe many such things, without my mentioning them.

This author gives a good character of Titus. And he could do no less, after having before related so many favours and civilities conferred by him upon the Jews. Titus also, as all know, is much commended in the Historie of the Jewish War, writ by Flavius Josephus: from which this writer had all his materials, that are of any value. But (*d*) herein he differs from the Talmudical writers,

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(*d*) Hic magna est discordia Ben-Gorionem inter et Talmudicos Doctores, quam non dissident ipsi Rabbin. Nec deesse tamen asserunt Sapientes, qui illam contradictionem concilient, quemadmodum affirmat R. David Ganz. Sed quo judicio id tentaverint, judicium sit penes lectorem.

Quoad nostrum Ben-Gorionem, illum

hoc loco sibi constare satendum est. Cum enim in versione Rufini ubique magnas Titi Imp. virtutes summis laudibus prae-dicari legerit, ipseque Flavium Josephum secutus illum saepius multis elogiis ornasset, non ausus fuit suos Doctores Talmudicos cum famae suae dispendio sequi, ne videlicet sibi contrarius videretur. *Gagn. p. 456.*

as Gagnier observes in his notes upon this work. For they represent Titus as exceeding impious and profane, as we also have seen. How the learned Jews can reconcile these contradictions is not easie to comprehend. But they continue to pay respect to this author, as well as to the Talmudical Doctors.

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Reland (e) likewise, in his notes upon the Triumphal Arch of Titus, takes notice of the grievous reproaches and scandalous reflexions upon him in the Jewish writers. Whereby they have shewn that they are skilfull in the art of slandering, and spare not, when they attempt it. Moreover in this their enmity to Titus they bear witness to that great event, the overthrow of their city and temple, of which he was, under God, the instrument.

III. I may now make some general remarks. But they need not to be many, nor long.

Concluding Remarks.

1. This writer is evidently an impostor, a detestable character, which cannot be too much disliked, nor too much censured. He did not live in the time of Vespasian and Titus, as he pretends. Nor is he *Joseph the son of Gorion*, the Priest, who was appointed to preside in Jerusalem, or to govern in Galilee.

2. Nevertheless he is a witness to the burning of the temple, and the taking of Jerusalem, and the conquest of Judea, by the fore-

I i 2

men-

(e) Hebraei narrant, sed ex odio Titi, quem illum impium vocant, ac si hominem longe post homines natos sceleratissimum diceret, non modo velis sacris eum vasa templi imposuisse, sed et contaminasse adytum impio facinore, in Gemara Gittin. fol. 56. 2. Cepit meretricem, ea-

que inducitur in sanctum sanctorum, stratoque Legis volumine, facinus patravit super illud. Dein stricto gladio velum perripuit, unde sanguis, facto miraculo, missus est, sic ut exiens Titus putaret se Deum ipsum peremisse. . . . *Reland. de Spoliis Templi in Arcu Titiano. cap. 13. p. 130. 131.*

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mentioned Emperours. To those events he has bore his testimonie, and his testimonie is received by the people of his own nation, especially by the learned among them.

3. He says, that *Titus was compelled by necessity to destroy Jerusalem, and that all this evil had come upon Jerusalem, because of the robbers, and their wickednesse.*

He therefore does not ascribe the calamities, which befell the Jews in the time of Vespasian and Titus, to their sin in rejecting Jesus, and not receiving him, as the Messiah. Their calamities he owns, and thereby bears witness to the fulfilment of our Saviour's prophecies concerning the destruction of Jerusalem. But he does not acknowledge any guilt contracted by his people in crucifying the Lord Jesus, and persecuting his followers. Nor does Josephus. Nor (A) indeed do I well see how any unbelieving Jews can make such acknowledgements. Rabbi Isaac in his *Munimen Fidei* above quoted, which is writ against the Christians, quotes John xix. 15. The chief-priests answered: *We have no King, but Cesar.* Upon which he remarks in this manner. "This (f) shews, that before
" Jesus

(A) It is said by some learned men, that *Maimonides ascribes the destruction of Jerusalem to our Lord.* So Dr. Sharpe in *his Argument.* &c. p. 38. 39. And De Voisin in *Pr. Rugion. Fidei.* p. 127. Certe R. Moses in tract. *De Regibus, et De Bell.* cap. 11. propter Jesum Christum excidium Jerosolymitanum contigisse fatetur, . . . Id est, " Ille, qui visus est esse Messias, et occisus est sententiâ judiciali, &c. ille fuit causa, cur Israel gladio perierit, et reliquiae Israel disperfae sint, et depressae, et cur lex mutata sit." But how this is to be understood, I cannot well say. I

have not the tract of Maimonides, here referred to.

(f) Haec ibi. Ecce hoc dicto ostenditur, ante Jesu cruci affixionem jam dum Caesares Romanos Judaeis imperitasse. Atque is Caesar [*de quo ibi sermo,*] Tiberius fuit, qui Pilatum Hierosolymis praefecerat, ceu constat ex capitis III. Lucae initio. Valebit hoc pro responso adversus objectionem Nazaraeorum, qua clamitant, Judaeos propter peccatum suspensionis Jesu perdidisse regnum suum. &c. R. *Isacci Munimen Fid.* p. 446. *Conf.* p. 55. 56. *ibid.*

“ Jesus was crucified, the Jews were subject to the Roman Emperours. The Emperour here intended was Tiberius, who sent Pilate to preside at Jerusalem, as appears from the third chapter of Luke at the beginning. This may suffice for an answer to an objection of the Nazareans, who say, the Jews lost their kingdom, “ for their sin in hanging Jesus.” This, though it be no better than an evasion, shews the Jewish temper and principles. I say, it is no better than an evasion. The Jewish people, as we know very well, were subject to the Romans in our Saviour’s time. But the case was much altered with them afterwards. They were then very happy, and were so for some good while after that, enjoying, under the mild government of the Romans, the free exercise of their religion, and the temple-worship, and many other privileges. The distresses, and other circumstances of the siege of Jerusalem, were very uncommon, sufficient to raise the attention of all serious men. And the long duration, and other circumstances of their captivity and dispersion ever since, are also very uncommon and extraordinary. But this is not a time or place for me to enlarge upon them any farther. But it is reasonable to think, that unbelieving Jews must endeavor, some how or other, to evade the argument in favour of Christianity, taken from the destruction of Jerusalem, and their long continued captivity and dispersion. And beside the passage just now alleged, the same Rabbi *Isaac*, in the place before referred to, relating to the death of Agrippa, says, “ that (*g*) the differences between King Agrippa and the wicked leaders of the factions, at length brought on the desolation of the Temple.”

4. This work of *Josippon* confirms the historie of the Jewish war writ by *Flavius Josephus*, son of Matthias. And it must induce us to set a real value upon Josephus, and raise our esteem for him.

They

(*g*) Ceterum, ob illam, quae inter Regem Agrippam et improbos Duces factionum exorta fuerat contentionem, deni-

que desolatum fuit Templum, uti ex Josepho constat. *Munim. Fid.* p. 417. And see before p. 218. note (*k*)

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They are both fond of their own people. But Josephus was indeed contemporarie with the events, which he records, and with the principal actors in them: and therefore he must have the preference. This author is a plagiarie, and knows nothing of the war, of which he writes, but what he has stolen from another, without naming him. And with all his Greek politeness, Josephus has more the air of sincerity and simplicity than this Hebrew writer. Indeed, it would have been a bad exchange, if instead of *the Historie of the Jewish War*, writ by *Flavius Josephus*, we had palmed upon us *the Historie of the Wars of Jehova*, writ by *Josippus*, who neither was *the son of Gorion*, who presided at Jerusalem, nor *the son of Matthias*, who governed in Galilee.



C H A P.

C H A P. VII.

*A Recollection of the foregoing Articles, and
Reflexions upon them.*

I. *The preceding Articles recollected.* II. *Reflexions upon them.* III. *Concluding Observations.*

I. **I** QUOTE no more Jewish (a) Writers. I therefore now proceed to recollect what we have seen, and to make remarks. But I need not recollect the first two chapters. I hope they have not been im-

The preceding Articles recollected.

(a) Some learned men have of late appealed to a book, entitled *Toldoth Jeschu*. I am of opinion, that Christianity does not need such a testimonie, nor such witnesses. I have looked it over several times, with an intention to give some account of it. But, after all, I could not persuade myself to attempt it. For it is a modern work, writ in the 14. or 15. centurie, and is throughout, from the beginning to the end, burlesque and falshood. Nor does the shameless writer acknowledge any thing that has so much as a resemblance of the truth, except in the way of ridicule. I shall however put down here the

short censure of *Grotius* upon this work, though he does not mention the title of it: not thinking it, as I suppose, worthy to be named. “Some of the Jews ascribe the
“miracles of Jesus to a certain secret
“name, which was put in the temple by
“Solomon, and kept by two lions for
“above a thousand years, but was conveyed thence by Jesus. Which is not
“only false, but an impudent fiction:
“[non mendaciter modo, sed et impudenter confictum est.] For as to the
“lions, so remarkable and wonderful a
“thing, neither the Books of the Kings,
“nor the Chronicles, nor Josephus, men-

tion.

improperly premised to this work. But they need not to be brought in here, in the way of recapitulation, and recollection. I shall recollect only what we have seen in Jewish writers, begining with Josephus.

Two things are to be regarded by us, their testimonie to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to the Destruction of Jerusalem.

In Josephus there is a paragraph, where Jesus is mentioned very honorably, and agreeably to his true character. But it is not universally received by learned men as genuine. Many are rather of opinion, that it has been inserted in his works, since his time.

There is in him another paragraph, concerning *John the Baptist*, which is generally received as genuine. And it is a valuable testimonie to his preaching, and therein calling men to the practise of virtue. He likewise says, that he was put to death by Herod the Tetrarch. But he says nothing of that part of his character, that he appeared as the fore-runner of the Messiah.

He likewise acknowledgeth, that there was then in Judea a general expectation of a great person to arise from among them, who should obtain the empire of the world: and that this expectation was one great occasion of the war with the Romans: and that it was built upon an oracle found in their sacred writings: and that many of their wise men embraced it, and acted upon it in their engaging in the war. He has also spoken of many false-prophets, who appeared at that time, promising great advantages to the people, if they would follow them, and that many were deceived by them. If they

“tion any thing of them. Nor did the
“Romans, who before the times of Jesus
“entered the temple with Pompey, find
“any such thing.” *Grotius, of the Truth*

*of the Christian Religion. B. 5. §. iv. in the
version of Dr. John Clarke. And I refer
to Wagenfeil's, Confutation of the Toldeth
Jeshu.*

they did not call themselves Christs, as well as Prophets, they did in effect take upon them the character of the Messiah.

In the *Mishna* it is allowed, that there is no express mention of Jesus Christ, the design of that work being to make a collection of the numerous traditions, which hitherto were unwritten. But I have alleged a paragraph (*) which I think, contains an invidious representation of the state of things under the gospel-dispensation, in the second centurie.

In the *Talmudical* writings Jesus is mentioned. But as Lightfoot, who was well acquainted with them, says, it is chiefly with a view to wound and reproach him. They call his mother by the name *Mary*. But they have aspersed her character, and have assigned to Jesus a spurious nativity. They have mentioned several of our Saviour's disciples, who, as they say, were put to death. They say, our Saviour suffered as a malefactor, at one of the Jewish Passovers, or, in the *eve* of it, as the expression is. They seem in some places, to acknowledge the power of miracles in Jesus, and his disciples. And if they had not known, that many miraculous works were ascribed to him, they would not have insinuated, that he learned magical arts in Egypt, and brought them thence in a private manner, and then set up himself among his countrey-men, as an extraordinary person.

That is the sum of their testimonie upon this article. It would be in vain to expect a great deal from Jews upon this head, who are our enemies. Such are their prejudices, that they are, and always have been, the most inveterate enemies of Jesus, and his followers.

(*) See above, p. 182. . . . 188.

Concerning the other point, the *destruction of Jerusalem*, their testimonie is more material, indeed very valuable. *Josephus*, without intending it, has bore testimonie to the fulfilment of all our Saviour's predictions concerning the miseries of the siege of Jerusalem, the desolation of the land of Judea, and the dispersion of his nation. We have above transcribed his account at large. His testimonie has been repeated, with some variations, in *Josippon's Historie* of the Jewish war. And the *Mishna*, and the *Talmuds* likewise acknowledge the conquest of Judea by Vespasian and Titus, the burning of the temple, or the *second house*, and the overthrow of Jerusalem, which was dug up to the foundation.

Reflexions upon the preceding Articles,

II. But how should this be? How could this come to pass? What should be the reason of it? Does not this deserve serious consideration? Amos iii. 6. *Shall there be evil in a city, and the Lord has not done it?* Such things are not the effect of chance, but are owing to the direction of Providence. Isa. xlv. 7. *I form the light, and create darknesse: I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all these things.* But if God inflict calamities upon any people, it is not without reason. For all his works are done in truth. So again, in the forecited chapter of Amos ver. 1. and 2. *Hear this word, that the Lord hath spoken against you, o children of Israel, against the whole familie, which I brought up from the land of Egypt, saying: You only have I known of all the families of the earth. Therefore I will punish [or visit] you for all your iniquities.*

It is a reasonable maxim: *Unto whom much is given, of him shall be much required. And to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more.* Luke xii. 48. The people of the Jews had been favoured by God with many privileges. A suitable improvement might be expected. If they transgress the laws of God, their punishment will be exemplarie. Nor could any thing else, but sin, alienate

alienate the mind of God from them. *Is. lix. 1. 2. Behold the Lord's hand is not shortened, that it cannot save: neither is his ear heavie, that it cannot hear. But your iniquities have separated between you and your God. And Lam. i. 8. Jerusalem has grievously sinned. Therefore she is removed.* According to the declarations of Moses and all the Prophets, the prosperity and adversity of this people would be proportionate to their regard or disregard of the laws of God. For this I refer to *Leviticus ch. xxvi. and Isaiah ch. i.* And I shall make quotations from the book of *Deuteronomie ch. xxviii. 1. 2. And it shall come to pass, if thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and do all his commandments, which I command thee this day, that the Lord thy God will set thee on high above all the nations of the earth. And all these blessings shall come on thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God... ver. 15. But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God to observe to do all his commandments, and his statutes, which I command thee this day, that all these curses shall come upon thee, and overtake thee: 25. The Lord shall cause thee to be smitten before thy enemies. Thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them, and shalt be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth... ver. 37. And thou shalt become an astonishment, and a proverb, and a bye-word among all the nations, whither the Lord shall lead thee... ver. 49. 50. The Lord shall bring a nation against thee from far, from the end of the earth, [as swift] as the eagle flieth, a nation, whose tongue thou shalt not understand: a nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old, nor shew favour to the young: ... ver. 52... 59. And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, untill thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trustedst throughout all thy land. And he shall besiege thee in all thy gates, throughout all thy land, which the Lord thy God hath given thee. And thou shalt eat the fruit of thy own body, the flesh of thy sons and thy daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given thee, in the siege, and in the straightnesse, wherewith thy*

K k 2

enemies

enemies shall distress thee. So that the man, who is very tender among you, and very delicate, his eye shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the wife of his bosom, and toward the remnant of his children, which he shall leave: so that he will not give to any of them of the flesh of his children, which he shall eat: because he has nothing left him in the siege, and in the straightnesse, wherewith thy enemies shall distress thee in all thy gates. The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground, for delicatenesse and tendernesse, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter, and toward her young one that cometh from between her feet, and toward her children which she shall bear. For she shall eat them for the want of all things secretly in the siege and straightnesse, wherewith thy enemy shall distress thee in thy gates. If thou wilt not observe to do all the words of this law, which I have written in this book, that thou mayest fear this glorious and fearfull name, the Lord thy God: then the Lord will make thy plagues wonderfull, and the plagues of thy seed, even great plagues, and of long continuance, and sore sicknesses, and of long continuance.

We may be hence apt to think, that Moses foresaw the distresses of the siege of Jerusalem, in the year of our Lord 70. and all the calamities endured by the Jewish people about that time, throughout their whole land, and their dispersion afterwards. If he did not foresee them, the words spoken by him, were then fulfilled. And all the calamities, which then befell the Jewish people, or have since befallen them, are exactly according to the original plan of Divine Providence concerning them.

When the law of the ten Commandments was delivered at mount Sinai, the people were greatly terrified. And they earnestly requested, that God might speak to them no more in that way. If he would be pleased to speak to them by Moses, they engaged to hear and obey him. God accepted of this request, and assured them,
that

that for the future, he would reveal his mind to them in a more familiar manner. He would speak unto them by Moses, and afterwards by Prophets, like unto him. And that there might be no room for mistake, deceit, or delusion, he would furnish those, whom he should send unto them, with sufficient credentials of their mission. If any should come to them in his name, without such credentials, they might be slighted, and despised. But if they came with proper credentials, they ought to be heard, and obeyed. And if not, it would be resented. This is related several times in the books of Moses, and deserves to be attended to by us.

Ex. xx. 18. 19. *And all the people saw the thundrings, and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoaking. . . And they said unto Moses : Speak thou with us, and we will hear. But let not God speak with us, least we dye.*

Deut. v. 22. . . 29. *These words the Lord spake unto all your assembly in the mount, out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darknesse, with a great voice. . . And it came to pass, when ye heard the voice out of the midst of the darknesse, (for the mountain did burn with fire,) that ye came near unto me, even all the heads of your tribes, and your Elders. And ye said : Behold, the Lord our God has shewn us his glorie, and his greatnesse, and we have heard his voice out of the midst of the fire. . . Now therefore why should we die ? For this great fire will consume us. If we hear the voice of the Lord our God any more, we shall die. . . Go thou near, and hear all that the Lord our God shall say : and speak thou unto us all that the Lord our God shall speak unto thee : and we will hear and do it. And the Lord heard the voice of your words, when ye spake unto me. And the Lord said unto me : I have heard the voice of the words of this people, which they have spoken unto thee. They have well said all that they have spoken. Oh that there were such an heart in them, that they would fear me, and keep all my commandments always, that it might be well with them,*
and

and with their children for ever ! Which words are supposed to be wonderfully emphatical, expressive of a most ardent wish and desire.

Once more Deut. xviii. 15. . . 18. *The Lord thy God will raise up to thee a Prophet, from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me. Unto him shall ye hearken. According to all that thou desiredst of the Lord thy God in Horeb, in the day of the assemblie, saying : Let me not hear again the voice of the Lord thy God : neither let me see this great fire, any more, that I die not. And the Lord said unto me, they have well spoken that which they have spoken. . . I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, and what follows.*

Here is the origin of the prophetic character, *men sent from God with a special commission to declare to mankind his mind and will.* And from the occasion of this institution, (the great terrours of mount Sinai, and the request thereupon made,) it might be argued, that if ever a Prophet should arise among the people of Israel, like unto Moses, and meeker than he : and if his miracles, the signs and proofs of his mission, should be more universally saving and beneficent, than those of Moses, it should not be any disadvantage to him, nor lessen the respect fit to be shewn unto him.

We proceed in considering the texts lying before us.

Deut. xviii 18. . . 22. Says God to Moses : *I will raise them up a prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken to my words, which he shall speak in my name, I WILL REQUIRE IT OF HIM. But the prophet, which shall presume to speak a word in my name, which I have not commanded him to speak, or that shall speak in the name of other gods, even that prophet shall dye. And, if thou say in thy heart, How shall we know the word, which the Lord has not spoken ?*

ken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing, follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing, which the Lord has not spoken, but the prophet has spoken presumptuously. Thou shalt not be afraid of him.

Here is a general rule for discerning the mission of prophets, or such as should come in that character, as from God. It is a rule, that would be of use in all ages. And is here delivered for that purpose.

If the thing follow not, nor come to pass. Those words do not intend any prediction of some distant good or evil, to come some while hereafter. But they intend a *prodigie*, or some work above the ordinarie course of nature. Which he who takes upon him the character of a prophet, proposeth, as a sign, or token, or proof of his mission. If the sign proposed by any man, as a token and proof of his mission be performed, he ought to be hearkened to. If it is not performed, there is no reason to apprehend any harm from despising and rejecting him. He has no message from God. *He has spoken presumptuously. Thou shalt not be afraid of him.*

This may appear farther from what is said ch. xiii. 1. 2. 3. *If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and he giveth a sign, or a wonder: that is, proposeth some great work, as a proof of his mission: and the sign, or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods (which thou hast not known) and serve them: thou shalt not hearken to the words of that prophet, or dreamer of dreams. For the Lord Your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord Your God with all your hearts, and with all your soul. . . ver. 5. And that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams shall be put to death: . . . So shalt thou put the evil away from the midst of thee.*

Here is a case put, which never would happen. Never would any man be able to perform a miracle, in order to induce the people

ple of Israel to worship other gods. But supposing it, he was nevertheless to be disregarded.

In all other cases the rule here laid down for judging of prophets would hold, and was to be observed by all. If a man proposed some extraordinarie work, as a proof of his mission, which was not performed, he was not to be regarded. So all the false-prophets, spoken of by Josephus, who appeared in the times of *Felix, Festus*, and other Governours of Judea, some while before the destruction of Jerusalem, in order to induce people to follow them, in hopes of deliverance from subjection to the Romans, engaged that they should *see the walls of Jerusalem fall down before them*, to give them easie entrance into the city: or that they should *see the waters of Jordan divided*, that they might go over upon dry ground, or *that God would shew them signs in the wilderness*, and the like. But nothing of that kind came to pass.

But if a prophet gave, or proposed a *sign* or *wonder*, in proof of his mission, and it came to pass, or was performed, it would be decisive in his favour. So, when there were murmurings and disputings among the people of Israel in the wilderness, which tribe should have the priesthood: it was proposed, that *twelve rods, each having the name of the prince of the tribe upon it, and another rod, with Aaron's name upon it, for Levi, should be laid up in the tabernacle, before the testimonie*: and his rod which blossomed, should be known to be the man, whom God had chosen. *Moses then laid up the rods before the Lord, in the tabernacle of witnessse. And it came to pass, that on the morrow Moses went into the tabernacle of witnessse: and behold, the rod of Aaron, for the house of Levi, budded, and brought forth blossoms, and yielded almonds. And Moses brought out all the rods from before the Lord unto all the children of Israel. And they looked, and took every man his rod. Numb. xvii.* So that point was determined, and the murmurings of the children of Israel ceased. And

so it must be in all other like cases. If a *sign* or *wonder* has been *given*, or *proposed*, and it is performed, or *comes to pass*, it is decisive.

Here then is the rule. If a man come, and speak in the name of God, and prove his commission by signs and wonders, he is to be regarded, and received as a Prophet. And God declares, *whoſoever will not hearken unto my words, which he ſhall ſpeak in my name, I WILL REQUIRE IT OF HIM.* Deut. xviii. 19. It cannot be otherwise. The conſequence of diſobedience to the word of the Lord, ſo manifeſted, and confirmed, muſt be dreadful.

Let us now apply this. Jeſus ſpoke in the name of God, faithfully delivered the words, which he had received from God, and performed many miracles, in proof of his commission. John xii. 49. 50. *For I have not ſpoken of my-ſelf. But the Father, which hath ſent me, he gave me commandment, what I ſhould ſay, and what I ſhould ſpeak. And I know that his commandment is life everlaſting. Whatſoever I ſpeak therefore, as the Father ſaid unto me, ſo I ſpeak.* Ch. viii. 42. *I have proceeded forth, and came from God. Neither came I of my-ſelf, but he ſent me.*

And in proof of his miſſion, he appealed to his works, which were great, and numerous, and openly performed in the view of all men. John v. 31. 32. 33. *If I bear witneſſe of my-ſelf, my witneſſe is not true. There is another that beareth witneſſe of me. And I know, that the witneſs, which he witneſſeth of me, is true. Ye ſent unto John, and he bare witneſſe unto the truth. 36. But I have greater witneſſe than that of John. For the works, which the Father hath given me to finiſh, they bear witneſſe of me, that the Father hath ſent me. And ch. xv. 24. If I had not done among them the works, which no other man did, they had not had ſin : but now they have both ſeen and hated both me and my Father.*

If Moses and the ancient Prophets wrought miracles, there (*b*) is as good reason to believe, that Jesus likewise did so, and more than any of them, or than all of them together. For the testimonie of the writers of the New Testament is as credible, as that of the writers of the Old Testament. And if it be said, that Elijah was taken up to heaven, it (*c*) is as credible, that Jesus was raised from the dead, and afterwards ascended up to heaven.

Our Lord asserted his prophetic character, and his peculiar character of the Messiah: and often reminded the Jews of the terrible consequences of rejecting him, who spake in the name of God: or in the words of Moses, that it *would* BE REQUIRED OF THEM, John viii. 24. *If ye believe not that I am He, ye shall die in your sins.* ver. 25. *They said unto him, Who art thou? Jesus said unto them, even the same that I said unto you from the beginning,* John the Baptist often said the same: that *he was not the Christ, but was sent before him.* John iii. 28. And see ch. i. 19... 37.

But not to multiply texts, I shall quote Matt. xxi. 33... 44. *Hear another parable. There was a certain householder, who planted a vineyard, and hedged it round about, and digged a wine-press in it, and built*

(*b*) Si quis Paganus ab ipsis Judaeis quaerat, cur credant miracula a Mose facta, nihil dicant aliud, quam inter suos adeo perpetuam constantemque ejus rei fuisse famam, ut non potuerit, nisi ex testimonio eorum qui vidissent proficisci. Sic ab Elifaeo [2. Reg. cap. iv.] auctum apud viduam oleum purgatum [cap. v.] subito a mala scabie Syrum, hospitae [ib. iv.] filium ad vivum revocatum, et similia alia credunt Judaei, non aliam ob causam, quam quod testes bonae fidei id proditum ad posteros transmiserunt. *Grot. de V. R. C. l. v. §. ii.*

(*c*) De Eliae vero in coelum raptu unus Elifaei, tanquam viri omni exceptione majoris, testimonio fidem habent. At nos de Christi adscensu in coelum duodecim proferimus testes vitae inculpatae: de Christo post mortem in terris viso multo plures. Quae si vera sunt, verum sit necesse est Christi dogma: planeque nihil a Judaeis pro se adferri potest, quod non et nobis pari, aut potiori jure possit aptari. *Grot. ib.*

built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country. And when the time of the fruit drew near, he sent his servants to the husbandmen, that they might receive the fruits of it. And the husbandmen took his servants, and beat one, and killed another, and stoned another. Again, he sent other servants unto them, more than the first. And they did unto them likewise. Last of all, he sent unto them his Son, [the Messiah] saying: They will reverence my Son. But when the husbandmen saw the Son, they said among themselves: This is the heir. Come, let us kill him, and let us seize on his inheritance. And they caught him, and cast him out of the vineyard, and slew him. When therefore the Lord of the vineyard cometh, what will he do unto these husbandmen? They say unto him: he will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out his vineyard unto other husbandmen, which shall render him the fruits in their season. Jesus saith unto them: Did you never read in the scriptures, The stone, which the builders rejected, the same is become the head of the corner? This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. Therefore I say unto you: The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof. And whosoever shall fall on this stone, shall be broken: but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder. And when the Chief-priests and Pharisees had heard his parables, they perceived that he spake of them. This should be compared with Luke xx. 9. . . 18.

Psal.
cxviii. 22,
23.

Here our Lord speaks of the ancient Prophets, and then of himself, and shews the dreadful consequences of rejecting Him, and his message. There is another thing, that should be observed, which is what our Lord added concerning the treatment to be given to his Apostles and Evangelists, the Prophets of the New Testament, also sent to the Jewish people. Matt. xxiii. 29. . . 39. *Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because ye build the tombs of the Prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous. And say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with*

them in the blood of the Prophets. Wherefore ye are witnesses to yourselves, that ye are the children of them who slew the Prophets. Fill ye up then the measure of your fathers. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell? Wherefore, behold I send unto you, prophets and wise men, and scribes. And some of them ye will kill and crucify, and some of them ye will scourge in your synagogues, and persecute them from city to city, that upon you may come all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel, to the blood of Zacharias son of Barachias, [rather, son of Jehoiada. 2 Chron. xxiv. 17. . . 22. (d)] whom ye slew between the temple and the altar. Verily I say unto you, all these things shall come upon this generation. O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the Prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee! How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, but ye would not. Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you: ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

All this is properly said by our Lord in his prophetic denunciations. Not only the rejection of Jesus himself, would be required of them, but likewise their refusal to hearken to his Apostles. For they likewise were Prophets, and spake by divine inspiration. They spake in the name of God, and delivered his mind and word, and proved their mission by miraculous works. If therefore, after having crucified the Lord Jesus, the Jewish people should proceed to treat in like manner, his Disciples, who were sent to them: if they should scourge them in their synagogues, and put some of them to death, and persecute them from city to city, (as he foresaw they would) they would then bring upon themselves in the end, a terrible condemnation: and such miseries would befall them, that it would seem as if all the righteous blood shed from the foundation of the world, had been required of them.

And

(d) See *Credib. Part i. p. 915. &c.*

And that they did so treat the Apostles and other disciples of Jesus, appears from the books of the New Testament. These things may have been already taken notice of by us. Nevertheless they must be here briefly recollected. How the Apostles of Jesus were apprehended, imprisoned, beaten, and farther threatened, may be seen in the book of the Acts ch. iv. and v. Some while afterwards, ch. vi. and vii. Stephen was stoned, *and there was a great persecution against the church, which was at Jerusalem, and they were all scattered abroad, throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the Apostles.* Some time after this, when Herod Agrippa had been advanced to the kingdom of Judea by the Romans, we are informed, ch. xii. 1. . . 4. *that he stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the church. And he killed James, the brother of John with the sword. And because he saw it pleased the Jews, he proceeded farther to take Peter also. But after he had been imprisoned, he was miraculously delivered out of the hands of Herod, and from the expectation of all the people of the Jews.* St. Paul writing to the Hebrews, ch. x. 33. 34. bids them call to remembrance the former days, in which, after they had been illuminated, they had endured a great fight of afflictions: partly, says he, *whilst ye were made a gazing-stock, both by reproaches and afflictions, and partly, whilst ye were companions of those who were so used. For ye had compassion upon those who were in bonds, and bore joyfully the spoiling of your goods: knowing that ye have in heaven a better, and a more enduring substance.* And we have good reason to believe, that James, called the Lord's brother, the Apostle, who generally resided at Jerusalem, was put to death by the Jews there in a tumultuous manner, about the year of Christ 62.

How Paul acted in the early days of the gospel, and whilst he was under the direction of the Chief-priests and Pharisees, we know partly from the Acts of the Apostles, and partly from his own Epistles. It is said Acts viii. 1. *that he was consenting to the death*
of

of Stephen. And ch. vii. 58. *When he was stoned, the witnesses laid down their cloths at a young man's feet, whose name was Saul. And afterwards ch. ix. 1. 2. But Saul yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, went unto the High-Priest and desired of him letters to Damascus, to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem.* And in his speech before King Agrippa, and the Governour Festus, Acts xxvi. 9. . . 12. he says himself. *I verily thought with my-self, that I ought to do many things contrarie to the name of Jesus of Nazareth. Which thing I also did in Jerusalem. And many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the Chief-Priests. And when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them. And I punished them oft in every synagogue, and compelled them to blaspheme. And being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even into strange cities. Whereupon, he set out for Damascus, with authority and commission from the Chief-Priests. But in his way thither, he met with a check, received new light, to which he submitted, and became a true penitent, and sincere convert, and then preached the faith which for some while he had endeavoured to destroy. Compare Gal. i. 13. . . 24. 1 Cor. xv. 8. 9. Eph. iii. 8. 1 Tim. i. 12. . . 14.*

How he was treated by the Jews, after his conversion, we know from the historie in the Acts, and from his own Epistles. For when he began to preach the gospel at Damascus, *the Jews laid wait for him, and they watched the gates day and night to kill him. But the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket.* Acts ix. 23. 24. Of which great danger, and his wonderfull escape, he speaks himself in an affecting manner. 2 Cor. xi. 31. . . 33. When he came to Jerusalem, from Damascus, *and disputed with the Grecians, or Jewish profelytes.* Acts ix. 29. *They went about to slay him.* Acts ix. 29. For which cause the disciples found
it

it prudent to bring him down to Cefarea, that he might go to Tarfus.

The Jews out of Judea acted in the like manner. At *Antioch in Pisidia*, Paul having preached there with some success, both among Jews and Gentils, *the Jews moved with envie stirred up the devout and honorable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts.* Acts xiii. 50. And see ver. 45. They therefore went to *Iconium*, where also they had some converts among Jews and Gentils. *But the unbelieving Jews stirred up the Gentils, and made their minds evil affected toward the brethren. . . But the multitude of the city was divided. . . And when there was an assault made both of the Gentils and of the Jews, with their rulers, to use them despitefully, and to stone them; they were aware of it, and fled to Lystra, and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and unto the region that lyeth round about. And there they preached the gospel.* ch. xiv. 1. . . 7. At *Lystra*, a great miracle was wrought by Paul, upon a lame man, *who had been a creeple from his mother's womb, and never had walked.* And the people of the place were disposed to give divine honours to Paul and Barnabas, which they refused to accept. *But there came thither certain Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people. And having stoned Paul, they drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. Howbeit, as the disciples stood round about him, he rose up, and came into the city. And the next day he departed with Barnabas to Derbe.* ch. xiv. 1. . . 20. And having passed through several places, they returned to *Antioch in Syria*, from which place they had been sent out with special recommendations to the grace of God. ver. 21. . . 28. All which things therefore happened in what is sometimes called the first peregrination of Paul and Barnabas.

How the Jews acted at *Theſſalonica*, may be seen Acts xvii. 1. . . 9. at *Berea*, may be seen ver. 10. . . 15. How they behaved at *Corinth*, may be seen ch. xviii. ver 5. . . 20. And when Paul came
to

to Jerusalem afterwards, in the year of Christ 58. as we compute, he was very hard pressed by the Jews there, where was their great Council, and where the whole nation was gathered together at the feast of Pentecost, as is related Acts xxi. and xxii. Nor was there any visible means of his escaping out of their hands with his life, but by appealing to the Emperour himself, notwithstanding the favourable dispositions of the Roman Governours, *Felix* and *Festus*, to shew him equity: by which appeal he obtained leave to go to Rome, where he lived *two whole years* in a kind of free custodie, *receiving all that came in unto him, and preaching the kingdom of God, and those things which concern the Lord Jesus, with all confidence, no man forbidding him.* ch. xxviii. 30. 31. And then he was set at liberty, and went abroad again.

Thus the Jews resisted the counsel of God, and went on accumulating guilt, and laying up a store of vengeance to fall upon them, when God saw fit, and when the measure of their iniquity was full. As St. Paul says to the Thessalonians, 1. ep. ii. 14. *For ye, brethren, became followers of the churches of God, which in Judea are in Christ Jesus. For ye also have suffered the like things of your countrymen, even as they have of the Jews: who have killed the LORD JESUS, and their own PROPHETS, and have persecuted us, and are contrarie to all men: forbidding us to speak to the Gentils, that they may be saved, to fill up their sins always. For the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost.*

For certain such things cannot be overlooked by the Sovereign Lord and Governour of all nations, and of the Jewish nation, especially. For he has said, and it is agreeable to reason, and to all the rules of right government, that *if he raiseth up a Prophet, and put his words in his mouth, and he speaks all that he has commanded him: It shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I WILL REQUIRE IT OF HIM.*
Deut.

Deut. xviii. 18. 19. This rule was laid down and promulgated by Moses himself, the great Lawgiver of the Jews. And, as before observed, it was to be a standing rule. If faithful messengers, who deliver truly the message they have received from God, are rejected, and not only not hearkened to, but abused, the God of the Prophets will resent it, and shew his displeasure. Accordingly, soon after the events before related, wrath did come upon the Jewish people, to a very remarkable degree. And the numbers of those who perished at Jerusalem, and in Judea, by the famine, and by the sword, and by intestine feuds and divisions, or otherwise, was very extraordinary, and even unparalleled, as we know from *Josephus*, a contemporarie writer of their own nation, and from *Josippon*, a Jew likewise, and from others.

Josephus, who was a witness of that awful scene, often acknowledgeth the hand of God in it. *Cestius Gallus*, President of Syria, made a successful attempt upon Jerusalem, and then withdrew. Whereupon, he says, (e) *If Cestius had continued the siege a little longer, he would have taken the city. But God, as I think, for the wickedness of the people, abhorring his own solemnities, suffered not the war to come to an end at that time.* When *John of Gischala* escaped from out of the hands of *Vespasian*, and got to Jerusalem, he says, (f) *It was the work of God, who saved John for the destruction of Jerusalem.* In another place (g) he says, *that God had blinded their minds for the transgressions, which they had been guilty of.* And (h) *Never did any city endure so great calamities. Nor was there ever from the beginning of the world any time more fruitfull of wickedness.* Again, (i) *Indeed, it was God, who had condemned the whole nation, and defeated every method taken for their preservation.* When the

(e) See before in this volume. p. 73.

(f) p. 82. 83.

(g) p. 93.

(h) p. 95.

(i) p. 98.

Temple was burning, he says, *(k)* Certainly the divine sentence had long ago condemned it to the fire. He also observes, that *(l)* they did not attend to the prodigies, which evidently foretold their desolation. But like men infatuated, who have neither eyes to see, nor minds to consider, they disregarded the divine denunciations. He also observes, *(m)* that the whole nation was then shut up, as in a prison. And the Romans encompassed the city, when it was crowded with inhabitants. Accordingly, the multitude of them who perished therein, exceeded all the destructions that ever man or God brought upon the world. And *(n)* the whole circumference of the city was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by them who dug it up to the foundation, that there was nothing left to make those who came thither believe, it had ever been inhabited. So writes Josephus, in the Greek language, in the face of the whole world, not many years after the Jewish war was ended. And says Eleazar, in his speech at Massada, recorded by the same Historian, *(o)* the Metropolis of the whole nation, the City, which we believed to have God inhabiting it, has been rooted up to the foundation, and the holy temple has been profanely dug up to the foundation.

Such was the end of the siege of Jerusalem in the second year of Vespasian, and the year of Christ 70. And thus were accomplished the predictions of Jesus concerning the city of Jerusalem, and the Temple, and the Jewish People, if they did not repent.

Here I might conclude. But if any should be desirous to see this argument in all it's force, and in it's full light, it will be requisite to look farther back, and ascend up to the origin of this people: and then trace their historie, through the several periods of it. For they
are

(k) p. 103.

(l) p. 104.

(m) p. 119.

(n) p. 121.

(o) p. 122.

are a people separated from all other nations, chosen of God for very great ends and purposes, to uphold the belief of the Divine Unity, the doctrine of a Divine Providence, concerning itself in the affairs of mankind, upon the belief of which all religious worship depends, and to preserve the expectation of the coming of a great person to redeem the human race from error and vice, and the bad consequences of their deviations from truth and virtue. Gen. iii. 15.

For these ends God chose Abraham, and brought him out of (*p*) *Ur of the Chaldees*. When he called him, out of his country, and from his kindred, and from his father's house, he said: *I will make thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing. . . . And in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed.* Gen. xii. 1. . . 3. The fulfilment of which magnificent promise was limited to *Isaac*, or his seed by *Sarah*. Gen. xvii. and afterwards to *Jacob*, Gen. xxvii. xxviii. And when his posterity was greatly increased, after their sojourning a while in Egypt, where they had been treated in a servile manner, God brought them out of that country, with a *mighty hand, and an out-stretched arm*, working many great and conspicuous miracles for their safety. Whilst they were in the wilderness he gave to them a system of laws, the ten principal of which were delivered from mount Sinai with great solemnity, and then engraved on tables of stone by the finger of God. God then brought them into the land of Canaan, where they became a flourishing and powerfull nation, according to the promise made to Abraham concerning *Sarah*, when she was yet barren, that *She should be a mother of nations, and Kings of people should be of her.* Gen. xvii. 16.

David intended to build a House for the name of the Lord. But that honour was reserved for his son Solomon. The divine approbation of David's design is manifest. And God, by inspiration, gave him

M m 2

(*p*) Gen. xv. 7. Neh. ix. 7.

him the form and dimensions of the house, and the order of the worship to be performed there. 1 Chr. xxviii. 11. . . 13. *Then (q) David gave to Solomon his son the patterns of the porch, and of the houses thereof [or of the House, and the apartments thereof] and of the treasures thereof, and of the upper chambers thereof, and of the place of the mercy-seat : and the pattern of all that he had by the spirit of the courts of the house of the Lord, and of all the chambers round about, of the treasuries of the House of God, and of the treasuries of the delicate things. Also for the courses of the Priests and the Levites, and for all the work of the service of the house of the Lord. . . ver. 19. All this, said David, the Lord made me to understand in writing [as if it were inscribed on his mind] by his hand upon me, even all the words of this pattern.*

When the house was finished, and dedicated by a prayer suitable to the great occasion. 2 Chr. v. vi. we are informed, ch. vii. 12. *that the Lord appeared to Solomon by night, and said unto him : I have heard thy prayer, and have chosen this place to my-self for an house of sacrifice. 15. 16. Now my eyes shall be open, and my eyes attent unto the prayers that are made in this place. For now have I chosen and sanctified this house, that my name may be there for ever, and my eyes and my heart shall be there perpetually. . . 19. . . 22. But if ye turn away, and forsake my statutes and my commandments, which I have set before you, and serve other gods, and worship them : then will I pluck them up by the roots out of my land which I have given them. And this house, which I have sanctified for my name will I cast out of my sight, and make it to be a proverb, and a by word among all nations. And this house, which is high, shall be an astonishment to every one that passeth by it, so that he shall say : Why has the Lord done thus unto this land, and to this house? And it shall be answered, Because they forsook the God of their fathers, which brought them out of the land*

(q) Dedit autem David Salomoni filio suo conspicuam, qualem Deus animo inscrip-
descriptionem. . . id est, dedit ei formam ferat, ut dicitur infra ver. 19. Grot.

land of Egypt, and laid hold on other gods, and worshiped them, and served them : therefore has he brought all this evil upon them.

And though God is ever mercifull, and full of compassion, and forgave their iniquity, and many a time turned away his anger, and did not stir up all his wrath. [Ps. lxxviii. 38. and what follows, and Neh. ix.] yet at length the provocation of their repeated idolatries, and gross immoralities, after the renewed admonitions of his Prophets, was such, that God gave them up into the hands of their enemies. So this is related 2 Chron. xxxvi. 15. . . 20. *And the Lord God of their fathers sent unto them by his messengers, rising up early, and sending them, because he had compassion upon his people, and his dwelling place. But they mocked the messengers of God, and despised his words, and misused his Prophets, untill the wrath of the Lord rose against his people, till there was no remedy. Therefore he brought upon them the King of the Chaldees, who slew their young men with the sword, in the house of their sanctuarie, and had no compassion upon young man or maiden, old man, or him that stooped for age. He gave them all into his hand. And all the vessels of the house of God, great and small, and the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the King, and of his Princes. All these things brought he to Babylon. And they burnt the house of God, and brake down the walls of Jerusalem, and burnt all the palaces thereof with fire, and destroyed all the goodly vessels thereof. And them that escaped from the sword carried he to Babylon : where they were servants to him, and his sons, untill the reign of the kingdom of Persia.*

That was the overthrow of the Temple and city of Jerusalem, and the kingdom of Judah at that time. All which is related at large, and rather more particularly, in the lii. and last chapter of the book of Jeremiah. And may be seen also in 2 Kings ch. xxiv. xxv.

And it may be worth the while to observe here Jerem. xxv. 1. . .
11. *The word that came unto Jeremiah concerning all the people of Judah, in the fourth year of Jekoiakim the son of Josiah, King of Judah,*

dab, which was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon. Which Jeremiah the Prophet spake unto all the people of Judah, and to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying: From the thirteenth year of Josiah the son of Amon, King of Judah even unto this day, (that is, the three and twentieth year) the word of the Lord has come unto me. And I have spoken unto you, rising early, and speaking. But ye have not hearkened. And the Lord has sent unto you (r) all his servants the Prophets, rising early, and sending them. But ye have not hearkened, nor inclined your ear to hear. THEY SAID, Turn ye again now every man from his evil way, and from the evil of your doings, and dwell in the land, that the Lord has given to you, and to your fathers for ever. And go not after other gods to serve and to worship them, and provoke me not to anger with the works of your hands, and I will do you no hurt. Yet ye have not hearkened unto me, saith the Lord, that ye might provoke me to anger, with the works of your hands to your hurt. Therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts, because ye have not heard my words, behold, I will send and take all the families of the north, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon my servant, and bring them against this land, and against the inhabitants thereof. . . And this whole land shall be a desolation, and an astonishment. And these nations shall serve the King of Babylon (s) seventy years.

It ought to be here particularly observed by us, that this calamity is said to have been brought at length upon this people, *because they had refused to hearken to the words of God, spoken to them by the Prophets.*

The

(r) Jeremiah seems there to intend, as Prophets of former times, so also some, who were contemporarie with him, two of which are mentioned in scripture, Zephaniah, whose prophecies we have, and Urijah, mentioned here ch. xxvi. 20. See *Louth upon the place.* And says Grotius upon ver. 1. *A tertio anno regni Josiae.*

. . . Nam 31 annis regnavit Josias. Ab his deme 12 et adde annos 4 Joakimi, fiunt ipsi anni 23. Per quos nullo labore et se et socios suos abstinuisse ait Jeremias, ut ad meliorem frugem populum reduceret.

(s) Praedictio insignis, ob ita exactam temporis designationem. *Grot.*

The vessels of the temple were carried to Babylon, and lodged in the temple there dedicated to Belus. 2 Chr. xxxvi. 7. *Nebuchadnezzar also carried of the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon, and put them in his temple at Babylon.* They are more particularly enumerated, Jer. lii. 17...23. This, undoubtedly, was intended, by way of scorn and insult to the conquered people of Israel, and as a triumph over the God, whom they worshiped. Nevertheless they were thereby preserved, and many of them were afterwards returned. That they were there near the end of the captivity, we learn from the profane and unseasonable feast made by Belshazzar, as related Dan. v. 1...4. *Who then commanded to bring the golden and silver vessels, which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple, which is at Jerusalem, that the King and his princes, and his wives and concubines might drink therein.* At the end of the captivity, when Cyrus permitted the people to return to their own country, he also gave orders for the restoring of these vessels, as related at the beginning of the book of Ezra ch. i. 1...11. *Now in the first year of Cyrus King of Persia, (that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled) the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus King of Persia, that he made proclamation, throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying: Thus saith Cyrus King of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he has charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? His God be with him, and let him go to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God which is at Jerusalem.... Also Cyrus the King brought forth the vessels of the house of the Lord, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem, and had put them in the house of his god. Even these did Cyrus King of Persia bring forth by the hand of Mithredath, the treasurer, and numbred them unto Sheshbazzar the Prince of Judah. And this is the number of them: thirty chargers of gold, a thou and chargers of silver, nine and twenty, knives: thirty basins of gold: silver basins of a second sort four hundred and ten,*
and

and other vessels a thousand. All the vessels of gold and silver, were five thousand and four hundred. All these did Sheshbazzar bring up with them of the captivity, that were brought up from Babylon unto Jerusalem.

The first thing that was done by them, after their return to Jerusalem, was restoring the altar for burnt-offerings. Ezra. iii. 2. *Then stood up Joshua the son of Josedech and his brethren the priests, and Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, and his brethren, and builded the altar of the God of Israel to offer burnt-offerings thereon. . . From the first day of the seventh month began they to offer burnt-offerings unto the Lord. But the foundation of the temple of the Lord was not yet laid. The building of the temple met with opposition, and therefore it was several years, before it was finished. Which is mentioned Ezra vi. 14. . . 16. And the Elders of the Jews builded, and they prophesied through the prophesying of Haggai the Prophet, and Zachariah the son of Iddo, and they builded, and finished it, according to the commandment of Cyrus, and Darius, and Artaxerxes King of Persia. And this house was finished on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the King. And the children of Israel, the Priests and the Levites, and the rest of the children of the captivity, kept the dedication of this house with joy.*

At first they were discouraged by the little prospect they had of raising the temple suitably to their wishes. Ezra iii. 12. *Many of the Priests and Levites, and chief of the fathers, who were ancient men, who had seen the first house, when the foundation of this house was laid before their eyes, wept with a loud voice, and many shouted aloud for joy. But God himself encouraged them to proceed with the most gracious assurances. Haggai ii. 1. . . 7. In the seventh month, in the one and twentieth day of the month, came the word of the Lord by the Prophet Haggai, saying: Speak now to Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, Governour of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Josedech the High-Priest, and to the residue of the people. Who is left among you that*
saw

saw this house in its first glorie? And how do ye see it now? Is it not in your eyes in comparison of it, as nothing? Yet now be strong, o Zerubbabel, saith the Lord: and be strong, o Joshuah, son of Josedeck, the Priest, and be strong all ye People of the land saith the Lord of hosts, and work. I am with you saith the Lord of hosts. According to the word that I covenanted with you, when ye came out of Egypt, so my Spirit remaineth among you. Fear ye not. For thus saith the Lord of hosts. Yet once a little while... And I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come. And I will fill this house with glorie, saith the Lord of hosts. See likewise ch. i. and Zach. i. ii. iii. and viii.

And now they restored the worship of God at the temple, according to the prescriptions of the law of Moses for offering sacrifices. They kept the feast of the Passover, and other great feasts according to the law of Moses, and the Priests and Levites were set to officiate in their courses. So, after the setting up the altar of burnt-offering, and their begining to lay the foundation of the temple, it is said. Ezra. iii. 18. *And when the builders laid, or were laying, the foundation of the temple of the Lord, they set the Priests in their apparel with trumpets, and the Levites the sons of Asaph, with cymbals, to praise the Lord after the ordinarie of David King of Israel. And afterwards, when the temple was raised, it is said, Ezra vi. 18. And they set the Priests in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses, for the service of God, which is at Jerusalem, as it is written in the book of Moses. Then it follows ver. 19. And the children of the captivity, that is, who were returned from their captivity, kept the Passover, upon the fourteenth day of the first month.*

Thus the worship of God was again restored, and set up, at his temple in Jerusalem. And though, undoubtedly, in the intermediate space, the Jews met with various difficulties from surrounding enemies, and were now in subjection to the Romans; yet in the time of our Saviour and his Apostles, the Jewish people had free access to the Temple, performed their sacrifices there, kept the

Passover, and Pentecost, and other great solemnities according to the appointments of the law of Moses. And the genealogies of their tribes were in being. Jesus, our Lord, was of the tribe of Judah, and of the familie of David, though then in low circumstances. Matt. i. and ii. Luke i. and ii. *Zacharias*, father of John the Baptist, was of the course of Abia, and his wife *Elisabeth* was of the daughters of Aaron. And he executed the priests office before God at the temple, in the order of his course. Luke i. 5... 12. *Anna*, a prophetesse, is said to have been the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asker, a widow of fourscore years of age, who departed not from the temple, and served God with fastings and prayers, night and day.

But it is not needful to add any thing more, it being apparent from the books of the New Testament, and from Josephus, as well as from other writings, that the worship at the Temple in Jerusalem subsisted, till the second year of Vespasian, and the year of Christ 70. in which year, they had come up in great numbers to keep the Passover, and were suddenly shut up in the city by the Roman armie.

The times of the first and second Temple are computed by Dr. Lightfoot in this manner. “The (t) time of the standing of the
“first Temple, from it’s finishing in the eleventh year of Solomon,
“to it’s firing by Nebuzaradan, was four hundred and twenty
“years.” “From the (u) first year of Cyrus, (in which he proclaim-
“ed redemption to the captives, and gave commandment to restore
“and build Jerusalem) to the death of Christ, were four hundred
“and ninety years, as they are summed up by an angel, Dan. ix.
“and from the death of Christ to the fatal and final destruction of
“Jeru-

(t) *The Temple, as it stood in the time of our Saviour Ch. 40. p. 2063.* (u) *Ib. p. 2064.*

“Jerusalem, were forty years more, five hundred and thirty years in all.” Which two sums make no more than nine hundred and fifty years. In another place (x) he computes the times of the two temples to be exactly one thousand years. Others may make different computations. But now we need not concern ourselves about a nice exactness. However, I refer to (y) Prideaux, who may be consulted.

III. I shall now shut up these reflexions with some concluding observations. *Concluding observations.*

Obs. 1. The Temple at Jerusalem was designed by David, and erected by Solomon with divine approbation : and the worship there performed, was of divine appointment. And as the building itself, and the worship there, had a divine sanction ; it was fit, that a suitable respect should be shewn to the place itself, and to the ordinances there enjoined, by all the worshipers of the true God.

Solomon (a) and all understanding Israelites, were persuaded of the divine omnipresence. Nevertheless, as God had determined to make peculiar manifestations of himself at the Temple, it was fit, that respect should be shewn to it. 1 Kings viii. 27. . . 30. *But will God dwell on this earth ? Behold, the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee. How much less this house that I have built ? Yet have thou re-*

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(x) “If Jerusalem was destroyed exactly forty years after our Saviour’s death, as it is apparent, . . . then that destruction of it befell just in the four thousandth year of the world. And so, as the Temple of Solomon had been finished anno mundi, exactly 3000. so in anno mundi exactly 4000. both the City and the Temple that then was, were destroyed never to be repaired, or rebuilt again. And from

“that time most properly began the kingdom of heaven, and the new Jerusalem, when that earthly kingdom, and that old city, were utterly ruined.” *Harmony of the four Evangelists. Vol. i. p. 487.*

(y) *See his Connexion &c. year before Christ 458. Vol. i. p. 262. &c.*

(a) *See his Letter to Hiram, King of Tyre. 2 Chr. ii. 1. . . 7.*

ſpeēt unto the prayer of thy ſervant. . . That thy eyes may be open toward this houſe, night and day, even toward the place, of which thou haſt ſaid : my name ſhall be there : [Deut. xii. 11.] and hearken thou to the ſupplication of thy ſervant, and of thy people Iſrael, when they ſhall pray toward this place. And hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place, and when thou beareſt, forgive. See likewise ver. 46. . . 48.

And when Solomon had made an end of praying, fire came down from heaven, and conſumed the burnt-offering, and the ſacrifice. And the glorie of the Lord filled the houſe. 2 Chr. vii. 1. And the Lord appeared to Solomon by night, and ſaid unto him : I have heard thy prayer, and have choſen this place to myſelf, for an houſe of ſacrifice. If I ſhut up heaven, that there be no rain . . . or, if I ſend peſtilence among my people : if my people, which are called by my name, ſhall humble themſelves, and pray, and ſeek my face, and turn from their wicked ways : then will I hear from heaven, and will forgive their ſin, and will heal their land. . . For now have I choſen, and ſanctified this houſe, that my name may be there forever : and my eyes, and my heart ſhall be there perpetually. ver. 12. . . 16.

Accordingly, Daniel, who was renowned for ſecular wiſdom, as well as for divine illuminations, and eminent piety, when his fidelity to God met with a ſevere trial, as we are told, ch. vi. 10. *he went into his houſe, and his window being open in his chamber, toward Jeruſalem, and kneeled down upon his knees three times a day, and gave thanks before his God, as he did afore-time. Comp. 1 Kings viii. 48. Pſ. v. 4. Jonah ii. 4.* And the Lord Jeſus was often at Jeruſalem, eſpecially at the great feſtivals. And twice in the courſe of his miniſtrie cleared the Temple of ſome abuſes and incumbrance, and ſeverely rebuked thoſe who practiſed thoſe indecences, or connived at them.

Obſ. 2. The Temple and the City of Jeruſalem were twice deſtroyed, once by the Chaldeans, a ſecond time by the Romans.

The city of Jeruſalem was beſieged, and taken ſeveral times beſides : by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Pompey*, and *Herod the great*, and others.

others. But now we confine ourselves to those seasons, when the city was ruined, and the Temple also was destroyed.

Obf. 3. The taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans was a very grievous calamity.

The particulars are related Jer. lii. 2 Kings xxiv. xxv. 2 Chron. xxxvi. Daniel, in his confessions, ch. ix. 12. says: *For under the whole heaven has not been done, as has been done upon Jerusalem.* It was a calamity, not easie to be paralleled, in all it's circumstances. Which was agreeable to the maxim before observed, *that where much is given, there also much will be required*, and to the words of God, by the Prophet Amos. *You only have I known of all the families of the earth. Therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities.*

Obf. 4. The final captivity of the Jewish People by the Romans has been a much greater calamity, than that by the Chaldeans. It exceeds in many respects.

1.) The distresses of the siege of Jerusalem, and the numbers that perished there by famine, or sword, by the hand of the Romans, or by their own intestine divisions, and the numbers carried captive, exceeded all the desolations, that ever were. It happened, when the city was crowded with people, they being assembled together at one of their festivals. And the city itself, it's buildings, it's walls, and the Temple were demolished, and thrown down to the foundation, so as they had never been before. So our Lord foretold Matt. xxiv. 21. *For then shall be great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning of the world, to this time: no, nor ever shall be.* So Jesus said, it would be. And Josephus says, it was so, and that *it exceeded all the destructions, ever brought upon the world by God or man.*

2.) The captivity by the Romans has exceeded the former in duration.

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This second captivity has now already lasted almost seventeen hundred years, without any the least prospect of a period to it. That was limited to *seventy* years only according to the word of God by Jeremiah. ch. xxv. 12. . . 18. xxix. 10. . . 14. and Dan. ix. 1. 2.

3.) During the captivity by the Chaldeans, the Jewish People had Prophets among them : but now they have none.

In this second captivity, as they are without altar, and sacrifice, and Temple, and City of their own ; so are they, all this while, without visions, and prophecies, and divine illuminations of every kind.

In the former captivity they had several Prophets, of great eminence. *Jeremiah* continued to prophesy to the remains of the people in Judca several years after the begining of the captivity. *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* prophesied in Babylon. These, and other good men may, have been of great service for bringing men to repentance, and fitting them for the expected deliverance. And during that period of seventy years, there were miraculous deliverances vouchsafed to some : the preservation, particularly, of the three young men in the fiery furnace : Dan. iii. Then Daniel's satisfactorie interpretations of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, ch. ii. and iv. and Daniel's great advancement, and some other extraordinarie occurrences, were much in their favour. They must have tended to influence the minds of the great princes, to whom they were subject. And must have been means of facilitating their deliverance, and accomplishing their safe return into their own countrey, and to their happy settlement in it. But we hear not of any such like favorable appearances in the present captivity and dispersion.

Obs. 5. All these calamities, those of the former, and of the latter captivity, have happened to the Jewish People, agreeably to the original plan of divine dispensations concerning them.

This observation was mentioned formerly. But it is repeated here, as a thing of great importance. And we have an acknowledgement
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of it, in Daniel's confessions, with regard to the Babylonish captivity. ch. ix. 11. *Yea, all Israel have transgressed thy law, even by departing, that they might not obey thy voice. Therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the law of Moses the servant of God, because we have sinned against him. . . . 13. As it is written in the law of Moses, all this evil is come upon us.* See Lev. xxvi. 14. . . . 46. Deut. xxviii. 15. &c. What is here said of the captivity by the Chaldeans, is as true of the captivity by the Romans, and ought to be in like manner acknowledged.

Obs. 6. Our blessed Lord's predictions therefore of evil coming upon Jerusalem and the people of Judea, did not proceed from private resentment, enmity, malice, ill-will, or any other unfociable affection, from which the mind of the blessed Jesus was always free: but they were declarations of the counsel of God, prophetic denunciations of evil to come, if men did not repent, faithful warnings to men to take heed to themselves, and earnest and affectionate calls to repentance and reformation, that the impending and threatened calamities might be averted and avoided.

A Prophet, who is entrusted with the mind of God, must faithfully deliver both promises to obedience and threatening to disobedience, as he is required. Says Moses to the people under his care, for whose welfare and prosperity he was greatly concerned. Deut. iv. 5. *Behold, I have taught you statutes and judgements, even as the Lord my God commanded me. . . . ver. 25. 26. . . . But if thou do evil in the sight of the Lord thy God, to provoke him to anger: I call heaven and earth to witness, that ye shall soon utterly perish from off the land, whereunto you go over Jordan to possess it: ye shall not prolong your days upon it. But shall utterly be destroyed.* Nor was Jeremiah to be charged with ill will to the Jewish people, when he foretold the desolations of the Chaldean captivity.

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Obſ. 7. The great aggravation of the tranſgreſſions of the Jewiſh people, lay in their not hearkening to the meſſages of the Prophets, which God ſent among them.

This was obſerved before from 2 Chron. xxvi. 15. 16. and from Jerem. xxv. 1. . . 11. to which I now add, that it is particularly mentioned by Daniel in his devout and humble confeſſion of the ſins of that people, which brought upon them the Babyloniſh captivity. ch. ix. 5. 6. *We have ſinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled even by departing from thy precepts and thy judgements. Neither have we hearkened unto thy ſervants the prophets, who ſpoke in thy name to our Kings, our Princes, and our fathers, and to all the people of Iſrael.* By which, certainly, theſe Prophets manifeſted their fidelity. And the reaſon of this is, that reſuſing to hearken to meſſages of God, faithfully delivered by his Prophets, demonſtrates obſtinacie and irreclaimableneſſe. This is repreſented by our Lord in the parable of the *fig-tree*. Luke xiii. 6. . . 10. and of the *huſbandmen*. Matt. xxi. 33. &c. and in other parables and diſcourſes. The parable of the *fig-tree* juſt mentioned, is thus. *A certain man had a fig-tree, planted in his vineyard. And he came, and ſought fruit thereon, and found none. Then ſaid he to the dreſſer of the vineyard: Behold theſe three years I come ſeeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none. Cut it down. Why cumbereth it the ground? And he anſwering ſaid: Lord, let it alone this year alſo, till I ſhall dig about it, and dung it. If it bear fruit, well. If not, thou ſhalt cut it down.* So God ſaid of old to the people of Iſrael by Iſaiah, after having in a like manner repreſented his care and cultivation of his vineyard. If. v. 3. 4. 5. *And now, o inhabitants of Jeruſalem, and men of Judah, judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard. What could have been done more to my vineyard, than I have done in it? Wherefore when I looked, that it ſhould bring forth grapes, brought it forth wild grapes? I will tell you, what I will do to my vineyard? I will*

will take away the hedge thereof, and it shall be eaten up: and break down the wall thereof, and it shall be trodden down.

This was the case in the time of our Saviour. After all other Prophets, came Jesus, who taught the people in the name of God, and faithfully delivered his mind to them, and called them to repentance, and wrought many wonderfull works. There was then a great profusion of spiritual gifts in Himself, and his Apostles. If their message was not hearkened to, but rejected, and they abused: it would be an aggravated provocation, and would be required of the people, to whom they had spoken in the name of God.

Obs. 8. Finally, in the eighth and last place, let us now inquire and consider, what was the sin, what the sins, or offenses, that occasioned the great calamity, which befell the Jewish people, about forty years after the times of the Lord Jesus, under the conduct of those two Generals, *Vespasian*, and *Titus*.

We have seen accounts in Josephus, and other Jewish writers, of the distresses then suffered by the Jewish people at Jerusalem, and in other parts of Judea, and of the destruction and demolition of their city, and temple, and their captivity and dispersion, which still continue. And we have seen evident proofs, that the hand of God was therein, and that all came to pass by the over-ruling providence of God. It is an affecting subject. And if we make inquiries into the reasons and causes of these great calamities, we should do it seriously, and impartially, and may be disposed also to compassion and candour.

When God appeared to Solomon after he had finished and dedicated the Temple, he graciously assured him, that he accepted the prayer, which he had made, and that he would hearken to the prayers, which his people should make to him toward that place in their distresses. Nevertheless he declares, 2 Chron. vii. 19... 22. *But if ye turn away, and forsake my statutes, and my commandments, which I have set before you, and serve other gods, and worship them: then will I pluck them up by the roots out of my land which I have given them.*

them. And the house, which I have sanctified for my name will I cast out of my sight, and will make it to be a proverb, and a by-word among all nations. And this house, which is high, shall be an astonishment to every one that passeth by it : so that he shall say : *Why has the Lord done thus unto this land, and unto this house.* And it shall be answered, *Because they forsook the Lord God of their fathers, who brought them out of the land of Egypt, and laid hold on other gods, and worshipped them, and served them.* Therefore has he brought all this evil upon them.

This was fulfilled in the *Babylonish* captivity, when Jerusalem was taken, and the Temple, built by Solomon, was burnt down. That was an event, which occasioned inquiries into the reasons and causes of it. And shall not we consider, and make like inquiries, concerning the captivity by the *Romans*, which has been attended with so many awfull circumstances? Shall we not say : *Why has the Lord done thus, unto this land, and to this house*, meaning the second house, built after the return from the *Babylonish* captivity. For that house also was high. And had been erected with divine approbation and encouragement. And the worship had been restored there according to the appointment of Moses : and was so continued there, till it's final desolation.

If now we ask, *Why has the Lord done thus to this land and people, and to this house* : It cannot be said, *because they laid hold on other gods, and worshipped them, and served them.* For after the return from the *Babylonish* captivity, they were for the most part free from the sin of idolatry, into which they had so often relapsed before. Nor are they now guilty of that sin, for which their dispersion should be continued. For some while before the last destruction of Jerusalem, they appear, from all accounts, to have been generally very zealous for the law of Moses, and the rites of it, and very diligent in their attendance on the temple at Jerusalem, to which they re-

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sorted in great numbers from all parts of the world, where they inhabited, at the solemn festivals: and where a large part of the nation was assembled to keep the Passover, when the final overthrow befell them.

We are therefore led to think, that these calamities befell the Jewish people, because they rejected, and crucified the Lord Jesus, who was a Prophet, mighty *in deed and word, before God and all the people*, who spake as never man spake before, and performed many wonderfull works, which none had done before. And God has *required it of them*, as he said by Moses, he would do. Deut. xviii. 19. And I must again recite here those affecting, and awfull, but true sayings of our Lord, recorded John xv. 22. 24. *If I had not come, and spoken unto them, they had not had sin: but now have they no cloak [or excuse for their sin. If I had not done among them the works, which no other man did, they had not had sin: but now they have both seen and hated, both me and my Father.* Lu xxiv. 19.

The expectation of the Messiah is no new thing. It had not it's rise from Jesus, or his Disciples. It was in being, long before the nativity of Jesus. We are assured (*b*) by *Suetonius*, and *Tacitus*, and *Celsus*, Heathen writers of great learning, as well as from *Josephus*: *That there had been for a long time, all over the East, a notion firmly believed, that at that very time, some coming from Judea should obtain the Empire of the world.* Heathen writers say, this was contained in the book of the fates: *Josephus*, who at the time of his writing the historie of the war, was disposed to think, as the Heathen writers above mentioned do, that *Vespasian* was thereby intended, says, that this expectation was founded upon an *ambiguous oracle*. Nevertheless he owns, that the expectation was general among the Jewish people,

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(*b*) See the passages of those Heathen Authors, and of *Josephus*, all alleged, *Credib.* P. i. Vol. i. p. 284. . . . 290.

people, and that it was embraced by *many of the Wise men among them*, as well as by others, and that it was the thing, which principally encouraged them to undertake the war with the Romans. But upon this head there is now no difference between the Jews and us. All allowing that the expectation of a Messiah is founded on the writing of Moses and the Prophets.

That this was the time of his appearance, they may have argued and collected from divers texts of scripture, as Dan. ii. 34. . . 45. vii. 14. ix. 24. and from Hag. ii. 4. . . 9. Mal. iii. 1. iv. 5. 6.

How general and prevailing the expectation of the appearance of the Messiah then was, among all sorts of men, the rulers, as well as the common people, we farther know from the books of the New Testament. Luke iii. 15. 16. *And as the people were in expectation, and all men mused in their hearts of John, whether he were the Christ, or not: John answered, saying unto them all: I indeed baptize you with water. But one mightier than I cometh, the latchet of whose shoes, I am not worthy to unloose. He will baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire. And from John i. 19. . . 34. we know, that the Jews sent Priests and Levites, who were of the sect of the Pharisees, to John, where he was baptizing, to ask him, who he was. He declared, he was not the Christ, but was sent before him. And said: There standeth one among you, whom ye know not. He it is who coming after me, is preferred before me. Whose shoes latchet I am not worthy to unloose.* I need not cite any other texts.

At that very time Jesus appeared, and wrought many wonderfull works, irrefragable attestations to his divine mission and authority, and the truth of his doctrine: of which we are as well assured from the concurring and unanimous testimonie of all the writers of the New Testament, as we can be of any thing that ever was done in the world: or as the Jews are of the miracles wrought by Moses and the Prophets.

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Here therefore we may adopt the words of our Lord spoken to his disciples, Matt. xvii. 12. *But I say unto you, that Elias is come already. And they knew him not, but have done unto him whatsoever they listed. Likewise shall also the Son of Man suffer of them.* As he did soon afterwards. For which God has reckoned, and is still reckoning with them.

However, though the treatment given to Jesus and his Apostles, was a very great offense : there may have been other provocations, which occasioned the displeasure of God against his people, and concurred to bring down the vengeance of heaven upon them. One sin is never alone. There is generally a complication of guilt in all great and aggravated transgressions. Though the Jewish people often fell into the practise of Heathen idolatrie, and that was one great occasion of the Babylonish captivity, that was not the only sin, with which they were chargeable. All sorts of immoralities abounded among them. And Daniel, in the confession which he makes of the sins of his people, says : ch. ix. 5. *We have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly, and have rebelled, even by departing from thy precepts and thy judgements.* So now the greatness of their guilt lay in rejecting and crucifying Jesus the Messiah. But that would not have been done, if wickedness had not greatly prevailed among them. Josephus owns, that *never was there a time more fruitfull of wickedness, than that.* In the Gospels the men of that time are spoken of, as an *untoward generation, and a wicked and adulterous generation.* They were chargeable with all kinds of evil, and were openly reprov'd for them, by the faithfull teacher, and Prophet, whom God sent among them, and whom they so ungratefully used. They were covetous and worldly minded. Luke xvi. 14 15. *They were exceeding proud and ambitious of respect and honour. They did all their works to be seen of men. They made broad their phylacteries, and enlarged the borders of their garments. They loved the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues,*
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and to be called of men Rabbi, Rabbi. Matt. xxiii. 5. 6. And see Mark xii. 38. 39. and Luke xx. 46. and Luke xiv. 7. They were extremely uneasie, and impatient under the Roman government, to which, by the disposal of Divine Providence, they were subject. *They were very deceitfull and hypocritical, who devoured widows houses, and for a pretense made long prayers.* Mark xii. 40. And see Matt. xxiii. 23. . . 28. At the same time they depended upon their descent from Abraham, and other external privileges. Which rendred all exhortations to repentance fruitless and ineffectual. See Matth. iii. 9. John viii. 33. and 39. Accordingly they are represented to have *hardened their hearts, and shut their eyes.* For which reason, they did not understand, nor attend to the signs of the times, and the evidences of truth set before them. Matt. xiii. 14. 15. John xii. 37. . . 41. And moreover they were at this time, very fond of traditions, which made void the moral law of God.

All these charges, now collected from the Gospels, might be verified by examples, and observations in Josephus. These evil dispositions prevailing among them, especially in their great men, who had the chief influence on the people, they did not, and could not believe, but rejected, and ill treated the Lord Jesus Christ. Let me recite here John v. 39. . . 44. *Search the Scriptures, impartially. For in them ye think ye have eternal life. And they are they which testify of me. And ye will not come unto me, that ye might have life. I receive not honour from men. But I know you, that ye have not the love of God in you. . . How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?*

One thing more I must add here. That the time in which our Lord appeared, was not a time of gross ignorance. The Jews now had synagogues every where, in all parts of Judea, and in many places out of it: where the Law of Moses and the Prophets were read, and explained. The common people in general were well acquainted with those Scriptures, and with the explications given of them by their Rabbins.

Rabbins. Among the Scribes and Pharisees were many men of very good abilities. Their acutenesse and subtlety are manifest in their cavils with our Saviour. Nor were the Jewish people now altogether unacquainted with the Greek literature. Their three sects of the *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, and *Essens*, had occasioned disputes and controversies, and spread the knowledge of the things of religion among them.

It is amazing, that a prophet, who teaches men a reasonable doctrine, and works many miracles, all usefull and beneficent, should be rejected. And it would be still more amazing, were it not, that we are in some measure able to account for it, by the bad dispositions, before taken notice of. Jesus gave no sign from heaven to induce them to expect from him (what suited their carnal and ambitious views) a deliverance from the Roman government. And all other works of mighty power, and of great goodnesse, were slighted, and despised. Thus prejudice and passion prevailed against evidence. And it is a great aggravation of the guilt of any men, who are knowing and discerning, if they reject the truth, of which good evidences are set before them. Our Lord having made some remarks after the cure of the man born blind, and after his being excommunicated by the Pharisees, John ix. 39. . . 41. Some of them, who heard him, *said unto him : Are we blind also ? Jesus said unto them : If ye were blind, ye should have no sin. But now ye say, We see : therefore your sin remaineth.*

Thus they were incurable. And these evil dispositions, prevailing in them, brought on that great sin of rejecting and crucifying the Lord Jesus, which God has required of them.

The destruction therefore of the City of Jerusalem, and the Temple, and the continued dispersion of the Jews, are a cogent argument for the truth of the Christian Religion. They confirm the historie of the New Testament, and every part of it. If they had not sinned, as they are there said to have done, these calamities had not befallen them. Their sufferings bear witness to the spotless life,
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and excellent doctrine, and wonderfull works of the Lord Jesus. They testify, that there had been one among them greater than *Jonah*, and wiser than *Solomon*. But they slighted all his wisdom, and repented not, as the people of Nineveh did, at the preaching of *Jonah*.

They confirm particularly the historie, recorded in Luke xxiii. 1...25. *And the whole multitude of them, [that is, many of the Jewish Council] arose, and led him unto Pilate, saying: We found this man perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar, saying, that he himself is Christ, a King. Pilate then asked him, saying: Art thou the King of the Jews? And he answered him, and said, Thou sayest it. [It is as you say.] Then said Pilate to the CHIEF-PRIESTS, AND TO THE PEOPLE: I find no fault in this man. And they were the more fierce, saying: He stirreth up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, beginning from Galilee to this place. He then sent Jesus to Herod, who sent him back again to Pilate. After which, when Pilate had called together THE CHIEF-PRIESTS AND THE RULERS, AND THE PEOPLE, he said unto them: ye have brought this man unto me, as one that perverteth the people. And behold, I having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man, touching these things, whereof ye accuse him. No, nor yet Herod. For I sent you to him. And lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him. I will therefore chastise him, and release him. For of necessity he must release one unto them at the feast. And they cried out, all at once, saying: Away with this man, and release unto us Barabbas. Who for a certain sedition made in the city, and for murder, was cast into prison. Pilate therefore willing to release Jesus, spake again to them. But they cried, saying: Crucify him, crucify him. And he said unto them the third time: Why, what evil has he done? I have found no cause of death in him. I will therefore chastize him, and let him go. And they were instant with loud voices, requiring, that he might be crucified. And the voices of them and the Chief-Priests prevailed. And Pilate*
gave

gave sentence, that it should be as they required. And he released unto them him that for sedition and murder was cast into prison, whom they desired: but he delivered Jesus to their will. Or as in Matt. xxvii. 24. 25. 26. When Pilate saw, that he could prevail nothing, but that rather a tumult was made, he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just person. See ye to it. Then answered all the people, and said: His blood be upon us, and our children. Then released he Barabbas unto them. And when he had scourged Jesus, he delivered him to be crucified.

To these things the destruction of Jerusalem, and the present circumstances of the Jews, bear witness: as also to the resurrection of Jesus, and his ascension to heaven, and to the plentiful effusion of spiritual gifts, afterwards upon his Apostles, and others: whereby they were enabled to preach the heavenly doctrine, in which their Lord and Master had instructed them. He commanded them to *preach repentance and remission of sins in his name, beginning at Jerusalem.* Luke xxiv. 47. And that they did so, *preaching repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ:* or, that they did earnestly call upon the Jewish people in Judea, and elsewhere, to repent of their sins, and believe in the Lord Jesus; and that they did not receive their instructions and warnings, but *killed some of them, scourged others, and persecuted them from city to city:* To all these things, the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, and other calamities brought upon the Jewish people, bear witness. And thus they filled up the measure of their iniquity.

The argument, upon which I have now insisted, is not new. It is old. And has been well managed by divers ancient Christian writers. I shall place below the observations made upon the long captivity of the Jews by Jerome (*d*) and by Prudentius (*e*) in their own language.

(*d*) Multa, Judææ, scelera commisisti, quod factum? Utique, propter idololatriam. Ob am. Quumque servisses, crebro misertus
tui

guage. I believe, they will be perused with pleasure by some of my readers. And I refer to a (f) place of Chrysostom, which was (g) formerly quoted more at large. I likewise refer to (h) Origen.

Nor

tui est Deus: et misit judices et salvatores, qui te de famulatu Moabitarum et Ammonitarum, Philistiim quoque et diversarum gentium liberarunt. Novissime sub regibus offendisti Deum, et omnis tua provincia, gente Babylonica vastante, deleta est. Per septuaginta annos templi solitudo permanfit. A Cyro rege Persarum est laxata captivitas. Esdras hoc et Nehemias plenissime referunt. Extructum est templum sub Dario rege Persarum a Zorobabel filio Salathiel, et Jesu filio Josedec, sacerdote magno. Quae passi sitis a Medis, Aegyptis, Macedonibusque non enumero. Nec tibi adducam in memoriam, Antiochum Epiphanem, crudelissimum omnium tyrannorum: nec Cn. Pompeium, Gabinium, Scaurum, Varum, Cassium, Sotiumque replicabo, qui tuis urbibus et praecipue Jerosolymae insultavere. Ad extremum sub Vespasiano et Tito urbs capta, templumque subversum est. Deinde civitatis usque ad Hadrianum principem per quinquaginta annos mansit

re reliquiae. Post everfionem templi paullo minus per quadringentos annos et urbis et templi ruinae permanent. Ob quod tantum facinus? Certe non colis idola, sed etiam serviens Persis atque Romanis, et captivitatis pressus jugo, ignoras alienos deos. Quomodo Clementissimus quondam Deus, qui nunquam tui oblitus est: nunc per tanta spatia temporum miseris tuis non adducitur, ut solvat captivitatem, et, ut verius dicam, expectatum tibi mittat Antichristum? Ob quod, inquam, facinus, et tam execrabile scelus, avertit a te oculos suos? Ignoras? Memento vocis parentum tuorum. *Sanguis ejus super nos, et super filios nostros. Et: Venite, occidamus eum, et nostra erit haereditas. Et: Non habemus regem, nisi Caesarem.* Habes quod elegisti, usque ad finem mundi serviturus es Caesari, donec gentium introeat plenitudo, et sic omnis Israel salvus fiet: ut qui quondam erat in capite, vertatur in caudam. *Hieron. ad Dardan. T. 2. p. 610. 611.*

(e) Quid mereare, Titus docuit: docuere rapinis

Pompeianae acies: quibus extirpata per omnes

Terrarum pelagique plagas tua membra feruntur.

Exiliis vagus, huc illuc fluitantibus errat

Judaeus, postquam Patriâ de sede revulsus,

Supplicium pro caede luit, Christique negati

Sanguine respersus commista piacula solvit.

Prud. Apoth. ver. 38. &c.

(f) *Adversus Judaeos Or. vi. T. i. p. 652. 653.*

People an Argument for the Truth of the Christian Religion. p. 47.

(g) *See the Circumstances of the Jewish*

(h) Contr. Cels. l. 2. §. 13. Bened. p.

69.

Nor can it be said, that God has been unrighteous in his dealings with them. All these judgements befell them, according to the original plan of Providence concerning them, and according to the prophetic denunciations of their Lawgiver Moses. Nor can it be said, that their continued dispersion is unrighteous, since they persist in the sin, which first occasioned it, and reject Him, whom God has sent unto them : and not only reject him, but reproach and revile him, so as no other people do. And, finally, whenever they repent, they may obtain forgiveness, and be received into the Church of Christ, and partake in all the privileges of it, and in the end obtain everlasting life, which God through Jesus Christ has promised to all those who love him. *For God has not cast away his people, whom he foreknew. And if they abide not still in unbelief, they will be graciously received.* Rom. xi. 2. and 23.

The circumstances of the Jewish People deserve the attentive regard, and serious consideration of all mankind, Jews and Christians, and the men of all nations and religions, where their historie is known : as it now generally is, from the books of the Old and New Testament, and from Josephus, and other writings.

The writings of the Apostles and Evangelists, contained in the New Testament, are faithfull records of the life of Jesus, and the promises of the gospel. And the continued subsistence of the Jewish people in a dispersed condition, all over the earth, bears testimony to the truth of every thing related by them. Thus God, the Sovereign Lord of all, in his great wisdom, has provided a perpetual, and universal, living monument to the memorie of the transactions and sufferings of Jesus in Judea : and of his own veracity in *performing the mercie promised to their fathers, and the oath which he sware to Abraham.* Luke i. 72. 73. Gen. xxii. 15. . . 18. and, that *when the*
P p 2 *fullness*

69. *Spenc. l. 4. §. 22. Bened. p. 174. Sp. Ben. p. 405. Spenc. seu Cantab. et §. 73. Ben. p. 212. Sp. l. 8. §. 42.*

fullness of the time was come, he sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem mankind from idolatrie, and all vice, and from all burdensome rites, whether of Jewish, or Heathen original. Gal. iv. 4. 5.

The circumstances of the Jewish People confirm the faith of Christians, and are a loud call to themselves, to think, and consider, and repent, and believe. And it should in a like manner affect, and awaken all other people. It is a voice, which may be heard by those, who have not yet seen the Gospels, and perhaps are averse to them. And it should induce them to look into them, and carefully examine them.

That Jesus is the Christ, is manifest from his agreeing to all the prophetic descriptions concerning that great person, which are recorded in the Jewish Scriptures, that he might be known, when he came. He is the seed of Abraham, and the son of David: *the rod out of the stem of Jesse. . . . And the Spirit of the Lord rested on him; the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and of might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord. And to him the Gentils have sought.* Is. xi. 1. 2. 3. 10. He was born of a virgin. Is. vii. 14. *at Bethlehem in Judea.* Mic. v. 2. *In him all the families of the earth have been blessed,* according to the promise made to Abraham. Gen. xii. 3. xviii. 18. xxii. 18. He is *the servant of God, whom he upheld, his elect, in whom his soul delighteth,* [or God's well beloved son.] *and he has brought forth judgement to the Gentils.* Is. xlii. 1. *He has been a light to lighten the Gentils, and salvation to the ends of the earth.* Is. xlix. 6. *The isles waited for his law, and have received it.* Is. xlii. 4. *And the earth is now full of the knowledge of God, as the waters cover the sea.* Is. xi. 9. *We have a new heaven, and a new earth,* Is. lxv. 17. *All the gods of the earth have been famished.* Zeph. ii. 11. Heathen idolatrie, once so general, and so much delighted in by princes and people, is now no more in this part of the world.

world. Their temples are demolished, or put to other uses. Their oracles are silent. Nor do they receive human, or other sacrifices. And God himself, the Lord of heaven and earth, is no longer served with sacrifices of animals, or oblations of fruits of the earth: but with prayers and praises, and good works of righteousness and mercie. Nor is his worship now confined to any one particular place. The time is come, *when men should neither at mount Garizim, nor at Jerusalem, worship the Father: and when the true worshippers of God should worship him in spirit and in truth*, John iv. 21. . . . 23. And in every nation, *he that feareth God; and worketh righteousness, is accepted of him*. Acts x. 35. Jesus had the words of eternal life. John vi. 68. And God has poured out of his spirit upon all flesh. Joel ii. 28. Is. xlv. 3. Acts ii. 17. And all men now know God from the least to the greatest of them. Jerem. xxxi. 3. All have just sentiments, and are able to discourse rationally, concerning God, the Creator of all things, and his overruling Providence; and future rewards and punishments. We now worship God on earth, through Jesus Christ, in a reasonable, spiritual, liberal manner, in hopes of obtaining; hereafter, perfection of holiness and happiness in the kingdom of our heavenly Father.

Jesus, then, is the promised Messiah, who was to come. Nor is there any reason, why we should look for another.

I have formerly treated (k) this subject. But the large and copious testimonie of *Josephus* to the fulfilment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and the miseries coming upon the Jewish people, and the repeated acknowledgments of the destruction of the Temple in the *Mishnaical* and *Talmudical* writers, have compelled me to enlarge here, as I have now done.

Finally,

(k) *The Circumstances of the Jewish People an argument for the Truth of the Christian Religion.*

Matt.
xiii. 44.
. . 46.

Finally, to put an end to this long argument: If we have obtained the invaluable *treasure* of the gospel, that *pearl of great price*; let us be thankful to God, who has so enriched us by Jesus Christ. And let us be careful to keep it entire, and in all its purity, unalloyed with base mixtures, and undisguised by false colourings. Our own glorie and the credit of our Religion depend upon this.

As for the Jewish People, I believe, all good Christians will readily joyn with the Apostle Paul, and say: *our hearts desire, and prayer to God for Israel, is, that they might be saved.* Rom. x. 1. Nevertheless I acknowledge, that I see no immediate prospect of their general conversion: and must assent to what the same Apostle says, in another place, who had great dealings with them, after his conversion to the christian faith, as well as before, and had full experience of their untractable temper: which is still too much the same, that it was in his time. *But their minds were blinded. For untill this day remaineth the same vail, untaken away, in the reading of the Old Testament. Which vail is done away in Christ. But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the vail is upon their heart. Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the vail shall be taken away.* 2 Cor. iii. 14. . . 16.

God grant, that we may all know, and mind the things, which are conducive to our true interests, both here and hereafter!

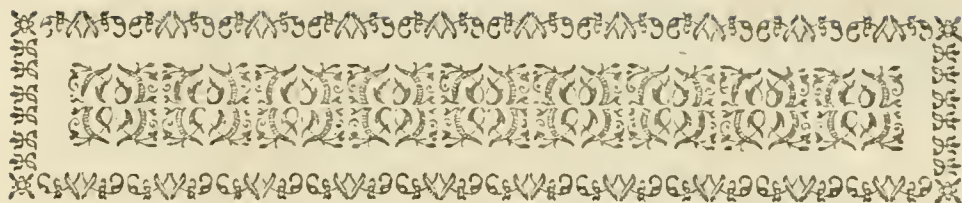
The End of Jewish Testimonies.

TESTIMONIES
OF ANCIENT
HEATHEN AUTHORS.

THE COMMITTEE

OF THE

HEATHEN AUTHORS



C H A P. I.

The Epistle of Abgarus King of Edessa to Jesus, and the Rescript of Jesus to Abgarus.



S the authority of these Epistles depends entirely upon Eusebius, I shall here transcribe his account at length, which is in the 13. or last chapter of the first book of his Ecclesiastical Historie.

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“ *A(a) Historie concerning the Prince of the Edessens.*”

“ The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, says Eusebius, being every where talked of by reason of his wonderfull power in working miracles, it drew after him many people from other countreys, and some very remote from Judea, who were filled with hopes of relief under all sorts of pains and sicknesses.

(a) *Ἰστορία περὶ τοῦ τοῦ Ἐδεσσαίων βασιλέως. H. E. l. i. cap. 13. p. 31.*

Q q

“ For

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“ For which reason King Abgarus, who (b) with honour governed
 “ the nations beyond the Euphrates, laboring under a grievous di-
 “ stemper, incurable by human skill, when he heard of the fame
 “ of Jesus, which was much celebrated, and his wonderfull works
 “ attested by the unanimous testimonie of all men, sent a letter to
 “ him by a messenger, entreating him to cure his distemper. But
 “ he did not then comply with his request. Yet he vouchsafed to
 “ write to him a letter, wherein he promised to send to him one of
 “ his disciples, who should cure his distemper, and also bring sal-
 “ vation to him, and to all with him. Which promise was not long
 “ after fulfilled. For after the resurrection of Christ, and his ascen-
 “ sion to heaven, Thomas, one of the twelve Apostles, moved by a
 “ divine impulse, sent Thaddeus, one of Christ’s seventy disciples to
 “ Edeffa, to be a preacher and an Evangelist of Christ’s doctrine. By
 “ whom all things promised by our Saviour were fulfilled. The evi-
 “ dence of this we have from the records of the city of Edeffa. For
 “ among the public records, wherein are entred the antiquities of the
 “ city, and the actions of Abgarus, these things are still found pre-
 “ served to this day. It (c) will therefore be worth the while to at-
 “ tend to the letters, as taken by us, [or for us] from the archives,
 “ and translated word for word from the Syriac language.”

“ *The Copie of the Letter, which was writ by Abgarus the Toparch,*
 “ *to Jesus, and sent to him at Jerusalem, by the courier Ananias.*”

“ Abgarus, Toparch [or Prince] of Edeffa to Jesus the good Sa-
 “ viour, who has appeared at Jerusalem, sendeth greeting. I have
 “ heard of thee, and of thy cures, performed without herbs, or o-
 “ ther medicines. For it is reported, that thou makest the blind to
 “ see, and the lame to walk, that thou cleansest lepers, and castest
 “ out

(b) *Who governed the nations beyond the Euphrates.* That is the lofty stile of the eastern people. Abgarus was governour of only a small territorie.

(c) ... ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῶν ἀναληφθεῖσάν, καὶ τὸνδε αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐκ τῆς συρᾶν γωνῆς μεταβληθεῖσάν τὸν τρέπον. p. 32. B.

“ out unclean spirits and demons, and healest those who are tor-
 “ mented with diseases of a long standing, and raisest the dead.
 “ Having heard of all these things concerning thee, I concluded in
 “ my mind one of these two things, either that thou art God come
 “ down from heaven to do these things, or else that thou art the
 “ Son of God, and so performest them. Wherefore I now write
 “ unto thee, entreating thee to come to me, and to heal my distem-
 “ per. Moreover I hear, that the Jews murmur against thee, and
 “ plot to do thee mischief. I have a city, small indeed, but neat,
 “ which may suffice for us both.” “ Now let us attend, *says Eu-*
 “ *sebius*, to the letter, which Jesus returned by the same courier,
 “ short indeed, but very powerfull. It is in these words.”

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“ *The Rescript of Jesus to the Toparch Abgarus sent by the Courier*
 “ *Ananias.*”

“ Abgarus, thou art happy, forasmuch as thou hast believed in
 “ me, though thou hast not seen me. For it is written concerning *John xx.*
 “ me, that they who have seen me should not believe in me, that *29.*
 “ they who have not seen me might believe, and live. As for what
 “ thou hast written to me, desiring me to come to thee: it is neces-
 “ sary that all those things, for which I am sent, should be fulfilled
 “ by me here: and that after fulfilling them, I should be received
 “ up to him that sent me. When therefore I shall be received up,
 “ I will send to thee some one of my disciples, that he may heal thy
 “ distemper, and give life to thee, and to those who are with thee.”

“ To these epistles, as Eusebius goes on to say, are subjoyned the
 “ following things, and in the Syriac language: That after Jesus had
 “ been taken up, [or after his ascension,] Judas, called also Thomas,
 “ sent the Apostle Thaddeus, one of the seventy: who, when he
 “ came to Edeffa, took up his abode with Tobias, son of Tobias.
 “ When his arrival was rumoured about, and he had begun to be

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“ known by the miracles which he wrought, it was told to Abgarus, that an Apostle was sent to him by Jesus, according to his promise. Thaddeus therefore by the power of God healed all sorts of maladies, so that all wondred. But when Abgarus heard of the great and wonderfull works which he did, and how he healed men in the name and by the power of Jesus Christ, he was induced to suspect, [*ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ γέγονεν,*] that he was the person, about whom Jesus had writ to him, saying, *When I am taken up, I will send to thee some one of my disciples, who shall heal thy distemper.* Sending therefore for Tobias, at whose house he was, he said to him: I hear that a man, endowed with great power, and come from Jerusalem, is at thy house, and that he works many cures in the name of Jesus. To which Tobias answered: Yes, Sir, there is a stranger with me, who performs many miracles. Abgarus then said: Bring him hither to me. Tobias coming to Thaddeus, said to him: The (*d*) prince Abgarus, has bid me bring thee to him, that thou mayest heal his distemper. Whereupon Thaddeus said: I go. For it is upon his account, chiefly, that I am sent hither. The next day early in the morning Tobias taking Thaddeus came to Abgarus. As he came in, the Nobles being present, there appeared to Abgarus somewhat very extraordinary in the countenance of Thaddeus. Which (*e*) when Abgarus saw, he worshiped Thaddeus. Which appeared strange to all present. For they did not see that brightness, which was discerned by Abgarus only. He then asked Thaddeus, if he were indeed the disciple of Jesus the son of God, who had said to him: *I will send to thee some one of my disciples, who shall heal thy distemper, and give life to all with thee.* Thaddeus answered: Forasmuch as thou hast great faith in the Lord Jesus, therefore am I sent unto thee. And if thou shalt encrease in faith in him, all the desires of thy heart will be fulfilled according to thy faith.

“ Then

(*d*) ὁ τοπάρχης.(*e*) ὅπερ ἰδὼν Ἀβγαρος προσεκύνησε τῷ Θεοδίδῳ. . . p. 33. D.

“ Then Abgarus said to him: I have so believed in him, that I
 “ would go with an armie, to extirpate the Jews, who crucified him,
 “ if I were not apprehensive of the Roman power. Then Thadde-
 “ us said: Our Lord and God Jesus Christ has fulfilled the will of
 “ his Father. And having fulfilled it, he has been taken up to his
 “ Father. Abgarus then said: I have believed in him, and in his
 “ Father. And thereupon said Thaddeus: Therefore I put my hand
 “ upon thee in the name of the Lord Jesus. And upon his so do-
 “ ing Abgarus was healed of his distemper. And Abgarus wonder-
 “ ed, that as it had been reported concerning Jesus, so it had been
 “ done by his disciple and apostle Thaddeus: insomuch as he had
 “ healed him without herbs, or other medicines. Nor did he heal
 “ him alone, but also Abdas, son of Abdas, who had the gout. For
 “ he came to him, and fell down upon his knees before him, and by
 “ the laying on of his hands with prayer he was healed. The same
 “ Apostle healed many other citizens of the same place, and wrought
 “ many and great miracles, as he preached the word. After which
 “ Abgarus spoke to this purpose: Thou Thaddeus doest these things
 “ by the power of God, and we admire thee. But I beseech thee
 “ to inform me about the coming of Jesus, how it was, and of his
 “ power, and by what power he did all those things, which we have
 “ heard of. To which Thaddeus answered: Now I forbear, though
 “ I am sent to preach the word. But to-morrow gather together
 “ all the citizens. And then in their hearing I will preach the word
 “ and sow in them the word of life, and will inform them of the
 “ coming of Christ, how it was, and concerning his mission, and
 “ for what cause he was sent by the Father, and concerning the
 “ power of his works, and the mysteries, which he spoke in the
 “ world, and by what power he did these things: and concerning his
 “ new doctrine, and the mysteries, which he spoke in the world: and
 “ about the meannesse and despicableness of his outward appearance,
 “ and how he humbled himself, and died, and (f) lessened his deity:
 “ how

(f) ἡ ἐσπίρριον αὐτῆ τὴν εὐότητα. p. 35. A.

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“ how many things he suffered from the Jews, and how he was
 “ crucified, and descended into hell, and rent asunder the enclosure
 “ never before separated, and arose, and raised up the dead, who
 “ had been buried many ages : and how he descended alone, but
 “ ascended to his Father with a great multitude : and how he is set
 “ down on the right hand of the Father with glorie in the heavens :
 “ and how he will come again with glorie and power to judge the
 “ living and the dead. Abgarus therefore issued out orders, that all
 “ the citizens should come together early the next morning to hear
 “ the preaching of Thaddeus. And after that he commanded, that
 “ gold and silver should be given to him. But he did not receive it,
 “ saying : When we have left our own things, how should we re-
 “ ceive those things which belong to others ? This was done in the
 “ four hundred and thirtieth year. These things translated from the
 “ Syriac language word for word, we have placed here, as we think,
 “ not improperly.”

Thus I have now translated this whole historie from Eusebius at large, thinking that to be the shortest way to a good conclusion : and that all my readers may be the better able to judge of the remarks that shall be made.

Various are the opinions of learned men concerning this historie, some receiving it as true, or at least (g) being favorable to it : others rejecting it; as (h) false and fabulous. I shall put down here the following observations.

1. In

(g) *Cav. H. L. Grabe Spic. Assen. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 554. ABp. Wake's Introduction to his translation of the Apostolical Fathers, ch. ix. Tillem. Mem. Ecc. St. Thomas. T. i. p. 360. Addison of the Christian Religion Section i. num. viii. p. 280.*

(h) *Ja. Basnage. Hist. de l'Eglise. l. 21. ch. ii. p. 1312. Hist. des Juifs. Vol. i. p. 200. S. Basnag. Ann. 29. n. xxxvii . . xlii. Fr. Spanh. H. E. T. i. p. 578. et 794. Pagi. ann. 244. n. vii. Cleric. H. E.*

1. In the first place, then, I think, we are not to make any doubt of the truth of what Eusebius says, that all this was recorded in the archives of the city Edessa in the Syriac language, and was thence translated into Greek. Eusebius has been supposed by some to say, that himself translated it from the Syriac. But that is not clear. Nor is it certain, that he understood Syriac. Much less have we any reason to say, that he was at Edessa, and took this account from the archives himself.

2. This historie is not mentioned by any before (i) Eusebius: not by *Justin Martyr*, nor *Tatian*, nor *Clement of Alexandria*, nor *Origen*, nor by any other. Nor does Eusebius give any hint of that kind. He had it from *Edessa*. It was unheard of among the Greeks, till his time. But having received it, he thought it might be not improperly transcribed into his Ecclesiastical Historie.

3. It is not much taken notice of by succeeding writers. It is not mentioned, I think, by *Athanasius*, nor *Gregorie Nyssen*, or *Nazianzen*, nor *Epiphanius*, nor *Chrysostom*. *Jerome* has once mentioned it, and will be cited by and by. But he has not inserted in his catalogue of Ecclesiastical writers, either *Jesus*, or *Abgarus*: neither of whom would have been omitted, if he had any respect for the epistles here produced by Eusebius. This affair is indeed mentioned, or referred to by *Ephraim the Syrian*, in his Testament. But that is not a work of so much authority, as has been supposed by

E. p. 332. et Bib. ch. T. xvi. p. 99. Fabr. Cod. Apocr. N. T. T. i. p. 319. &c. Philin. Jacob. Sklerandr. H. Antiq. Ec. Chr. cap. vii. not. 65. J. Jones upon the canon of the N. T. Vol. 2. p. 1. &c. Du Pin Diss. Prelim. Tom. ii. Vid. et Vales Annot. in Euseb. Colonia La Religion Chrét. autorisée par les Payens. T. 2. p. 339. &c.

(i) Tous les eccrivains Ecclesiastiques, qui ont esté depuis J. C. jusqu'au temps d'Eusebe, ne nous parlent ni près ni loin de cette Histoire, ni de ces Epitres. Et qui croira, qu'ils n'en eussent rien dit, si elle leur eust esté connue? &c. *Sueur. Histoire de l'Eglise, et de l'Empire. A. J. C. 31. T. i. p. 103. &c.*

by some. And it is interpolated in several places, both in the Greek and Syriac copies of it : as was observed (*k*) formerly.

4. This whole affair was unknown to Christ's Apostles, and to the believers, their contemporaries, both Jews and Gentils: as is manifest from the early disputes about the method of receiving Gentil converts into the Church. If Jesus Christ had himself writ a letter to a Heathen Prince, and had promised to send to him one of his disciples, and if that disciple had accordingly gone to Edessa, and there received the King and his subjects into communion with the church, without circumcision; there could have been no room for any doubt or dispute about the method of receiving Gentil converts to Christianity. Or if any dispute had arisen, would not this historie of the visit of *Thaddeus* have been alleged? Which would have been sufficient to put all to silence. Nor is there any room to say, that this visit of *Thaddeus* at Edessa was after St. Peter's going to the house of Cornelius, or after the Council of Jerusalem. For it is dated in the 340. year, that is, of the aera of the Seleucidae, or of the Edessens. Which is computed to be the 15. or 16. year of the reign of Tiberius, and the year of Christ 29. when, according to many ancient Christians, our Lord died, and rose again, and ascended to heaven. Indeed, I think, it is impossible to reconcile this account with the historie in the Acts of the Apostles.

5. If Jesus Christ had writ a letter to King Abgarus, it would have been a part of sacred scripture, and would have been placed at the head of all the books of the New Testament. But it was never so respected by any ancient Christian Writers. It does not appear in any catalogues of canonical books, which we have in ancient authors, or in Councils. In the Decree of the Council of Rome, in the time of Pope *Gelasius*, in the year 496. the Epistle of Christ to Abgarus

is

(*k*) See the *Credibility*, &c. P. 2. vol. ix. p. 183. 184.

is expressly called (*l*) apocryphal. Nor does Eusebius himself upon any occasion reckon it up among canonical scriptures, received by those before him. The titles of the chapters of his Ecclesiastical Historie are allowed to be his own. The title of the chapter, which has been just transcribed from him is this: *A Historie concerning the Prince of the Edessens*. It was a storie, which he had received. And he afterwards tells us particularly, where he had it. And in the first chapter of the second book of the same work, having mentioned the choice of Matthias in the room of Judas, and the choice of the seven Deacons, and the death of St. Stephen from the Acts, he recites again briefly the historie before told concerning Abgarus, and says: *This (m) we have learned from the historie of the ancients. Now we return to the sacred Scripture.* Where he proceeds to relate from the Acts what followed after the martyrdom of St. Stephen. In short, though Eusebius would not pass over this affair without notice, he seems not to have placed any great weight upon it. And succeeding writers have better understood his meaning, than some of late times, who have shewn so much regard to this relation.

6. It was the opinion of many of the most learned and ancient Christians, that our Lord wrote nothing. Therefore this epistle was unknown to them, or they did not suppose it to be genuine. To this purpose speak (*n*) Origen, (*o*) Jerome, and (*p*) Augustin.

7. There are several things in this epistle to Abgarus, which are liable to exception.

1.) At the begining of the epistle our Lord is made to say: *Abgarus, thou art happy, forasmuch as thou hast believed in me, though*

(*l*) Epistola Jesus ad Abgarum Regem apocrypha.

(*m*) Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἐξ ἀρχαίων ἱστορίας ἐγίνεθω. Μετῴμεν δ' αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν θείαν γραφήν. L. 2. c. 1. p. 39. B.

(*n*) Contr. Cels. l. i. §. 45. p. 34.

(*o*) Hieron. in Ezech. cap. xlv. T. iii. p. 1034.

(*p*) De Consens. Evang. l. i. cap. 7. et Retract. l. 2. cap. 16.

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thou hast not seen me. For it is written concerning me, that they who have seen me should not believe in me, that they who have not seen me might believe in me, and live. Says *Du Pin*, and to the like purpose say others: “Where (*q*) are those words written? Does not one see, “that he who made this letter, alludes to the words of Jesus Christ “to St. Thomas: *Blessed are they, who have not seen, and yet have “believed.* John xx. 29. Words which were not spoken by Jesus “Christ untill after his resurrection, and which were not writ, untill “long afterwards. Which manifestly shews the forgerie of this “epistle.”

2.) Our Lord here seems to speak more clearly of his resurrection, or being *taken up to heaven*, than he does to the disciples in the Gospels.

3.) Christ here defers to cure Abgarus of his distemper. He tells him, *that some time hereafter he would send one of his disciples to him, who should heal him.* Which is altogether unworthie of the Lord Jesus, and different from his usual and well known conduct, who never refused to grant the requests of those who sought to him, and expressed faith in his power. Instead of what is here said to Abgarus, after commending his faith, our Lord would have added, and said: *Henceforth thou art healed of thy distemper. Or be it unto thee according to thy faith. Or, as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee.*

This we can conclude from similar cases, recorded by authentic witnesses. Matt. viii. 13. xv. 28. Mark vii. 29.

8. There are several other things in this historie, which are very liable to exception.

1.) It is said, that after our Lord's resurrection and ascension, Thomas sent to Edessa Thaddeus, *one of Christ's seventy disciples.* But Thaddeus was an Apostle, as we learn from Matt. x. 3. and Mark iii. 8. It is likewise here said, that *Judas called also Thomas,*
sent

(*q*) *Diff. Prelim. liv. 2. ch. vi. §. 1.*

sent Thaddeus. Upon which *Valesius* (r) observes: "Thomas, who
 " was one of the twelve, was also called Didymus, as we learn from
 " St. John. But that he was also called Judas, is no where said,
 " but in this place. For which cause this storie is justly suspected."
Jerome speaking of this matter (t) says, "Ecclesiastical Historie in-
 forms us, that the Apostle Thaddeus was sent to Edeffa, to Abga-
 rus king of Osrhoëne, who by the Evangelist Luke is called Judas
 brother of James. Luke vi. 16. and Acts i. 13. and elsewhere is
 called Lebbeus. Matt. x. 3. So that he had three names."

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2.) When Thaddeus comes to Edeffa, he does not go immedi-
 atly to the King, to whom he was sent, as might be reasonably ex-
 pected. But he goes to the house of *Tobias*, where he stays some
 while, and works many miracles: which being noised abroad, the
 King hears of him, and sends for him. All this is very absurd. If
 Thaddeus, a disciple of Jesus, had been sent to the King of Edeffa,
 he ought, and would have gone to him directly, or would have
 made application to one of the courtiers to introduce him to the
 prince. This therefore cannot be true historie, but must be the
 invention of some ignorant, though conceited person.

3.) "It looks not a little fabulous, says Mr. *Jones*, that upon
 " Thaddeus's appearing before the King, he should see somewhat
 " extraordinarie in his countenance, which none of the company else
 " could perceive. *Eusebius* calls it ὄραμα μέγα, a great vision: Va-
 " lesius renders it *divinum nescio quid*, some divine appearance."

R r 2

4.) "The

(r) Thomas quidem, qui fuit unus ex
 duodecim, dicebatur Didymus, teste Jo-
 anne Evangelista. Sed eundem Judam
 esse cognominatum, alibi quod sciam non
 reperitur. Itaque et hoc nomine narratio
 ista merito in suspicionem venit. *Vales.*
in loc. p. 21.

(t) Thaddaeum Apostolum, Ecclesiast.

tica tradit historia missum Edeffam ad Ab-
 garum regem Osrhoënae, qui ab Evange-
 lista Luca Judas Jacobi dicitur: et alibi
 appellatur Lebbaeus, quod interpretatur
 coreulus. Credendumque est eum fuisse
 trinomium. *Hieron. in Matt. x. 3. Tom.*
4. P. i. p. 35.

The Epistle of Abgarus to our Saviour, Ch. I.

4.) "The account in the history, says the same laborious author, "that Abgarus designed to make war upon the Jews for crucifying "Christ, seems very unlikely: because it is plain he was prince only "of a small city, and that at a vast distance from Judea: and there- "fore could never be so extravagant, as to imagine himself able to "destroy so powerfull a nation, as the Jews then were."

5.) Abgarus is said to have had a grievous and incurable distemper, for which he desired relief of Jesus. This is said over and over. But what the distemper was, is not said. Learned moderns, (u) who are not wanting in invention for supplying the defects of ancient historie, say, some of them, that it was *the gout*, others *the leprosse*. However, presently after the cure of the prince, we are told of one *Abdus* son of *Abdus*, whom Thaddeus cured of the gout.

6.) We read not of any other city or countrey, in the first three centuries, where the people were all at once converted to the Christian faith. If the people of Edeffa had been all Christians from the days of the Apostles, it would have been known before the time of Eusebius. And I may add, that if this storie, told by our Ecclesiastical Historian, had been esteemed credible, it would have been much more taken notice of by succeeding writers, than it is (x).

7.) I forbear to remark, as I might, upon that expression of Thaddeus in his discourse with Abgarus: *Jesus Christ, our Lord and God fulfilled the will of the Father*: or upon what is here said of Christ's *descent into hell*.

9. The

(u) Cet Abgare est qualifié tantôt To-parque, ou Prince, et tantôt Roy. Procope en dit bien des choses, qui sont agréables, mais qui sentent fort la fable.

Ce prince étoit travaillé d'une maladie facheuse et incurable, (ce que Procope entend de la gout, et les nouveaux Grecs de la lepre) &c. *Tillem, as before.* *M. E. T. i. p. 361.*

(x) The conversion of the whole city is implied in what is above transcribed, and so Eusebius understood it, for he says, in the first chapter of the second book, p. 39. A. *Ἐισέτι τε νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἡ πᾶσα τῶν ἐδεσσηνῶν πόλις τῇ τῷ Χριστῷ παρασπύρεται.*

9. The observations, which have been already made, are sufficient to shew, that the Letter of Abgarus to Jesus Christ, and our Lord's Rescript, cannot be reckoned genuine. The whole historie is the fiction of some Christian at Edeffa, in the time of Eusebius, or not long before. The people of Edeffa were then, generally, Christians, and they valued themselves upon it. And they were willing to do themselves the honour of a very early conversion to the Christian Faith. By some one, or more of them, united together, this historie was formed, and was so far received by *Eusebius*, as to be thought by him not improper to be inserted in his Ecclesiastical History. Nor could I omit to take some notice of it, as great regard has been shewn to it by some. But all my readers may perceive, that I bring not in this thing as a testimonie, of the first antiquity: though it may afford good proof of the Christianity of the people of *Edeffa*, at the begining of the fourth centurie, when *Eusebius* flourished, or before.



C H A P. II.

Of the Knowledge, which the Emperour Tiberius had of our Saviour, Jesus Christ.

§. I. *The Acts of Pontius Pilate, and his Letter to Tiberius.* II. *The Storie of Thamuz, in Plutarch, concerning the Death of Pan, considered.*

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*Acts of
Pilate,
and his
Letter to
Tiberius.*

I. **J**USTIN MARTYR, in his first Apologie, which was presented to the Emperour Antonin the Pious, and the Senate of Rome about the year 140. having mentioned our Saviour's crucifixion, and some of the circumstances of it, adds. "And (a) that these things were so done, you may know from the Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate."

Afterwards in the same Apologie, having mentioned some of our Lord's miracles, such as healing diseases, and raising the dead, he adds: "And (b) that these things were done by him, you may know from the Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate."

Ter-

(a) Καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε, δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίῳ Πιλάτῳ γενομένων ἄκτων. *J. M. Ap. i. p. 76. C. Paris. 1636. num. 35. p. 65. Bened.*

(b) Ὅτι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν, ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίῳ Πιλάτῳ γενομένων ἄκτων μαθεῖν δύνασθε. *Ib. p. 84. C. Paris. num. 48. p. 72. Bened.*

Tertullian, in his Apologie about the year 200. having spoken of our Saviour's crucifixion, and resurrection, and his appearances to the disciples, and his ascension to heaven in the sight of the same disciples, who were ordained by him to preach the gospel over the world, goes on. "Of (c) all these things relating to Christ, Pilate " in his conscience a Christian, sent an account to the Emperour " Tiberius, then Emperour."

In another chapter, or section of the same Apologie, nearer the begining, he speaks to this purpose. "There (d) was an ancient " decree, that no one should be received for a deity, unless he was " first approved of by the Senate. Tiberius, in whose time the Chri- " stian Religion had it's rise, having received from Palestine in Sy- " ria an account of such things as manifested our Saviour's divinity, " proposed to the Senate, and giving his own vote as first in his fa- " vour, that he should be placed among the gods. The Senate re- " fused, because he had himself declined that honour. Nevertheless " the Emperour persisted in his own opinion, and ordered, that if " any accused the Christians, they should be punished." And then adds.

(c) Dehinc ordinatis eis ad officium praedicandi per orbem, circumfusa nube in coelum est ereptus, multo melius quam apud vos asseverare de Romulis Proculi solent. Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, et ipse jam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Caesari tunc Tiberio nuntiavit. *Tertull. Ap. cap. 21. p. 22. C.*

(d) Ut de origine aliquid retractemus ejusmodi legum. Vetus erat decretum, ne qui deus ab Imperatore consecraretur, nisi a Senatu probatus. Scit M. Aemilius de deo suo Alburno. Facit et hoc ad causam nostram, quod apud vos de humano arbitratu divinitas pensatur. Nisi

homini deus placuerit, deus non erit. Homo jam deo propitius esse debet. Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum intravit, annuntiata sibi ex Syria Palaestina, quae illic veritatem istius divinitatis revelarant, detulit ad Senatum cum praerogativa suffragii sui. Senatus, quia non ipse probaverat, respuit. Caesar in sententia mansit, comminatus periculum accusatoribus Christianorum. Consulite commentarios vestros. Illic reperietis, primum Neronem in hac sectam cum maxime Romae orientem Caesariano gladio ferocisse. *Ib. cap. 5. p. 6.*

A. D. adds. "Search, says he, Your own writings. And you will there
33. "find, that Nero was the first Emperour who exercised any acts
"of severity toward the Christians, because they were then very
"numerous at Rome."

It is fit, we should now observe what notice *Eusebius* takes of these things in his Ecclesiastical Historie. It is to this effect.

"When (e) the wonderfull resurrection of our Saviour, and his
"ascension to heaven, were in the mouths of all men, it being an
"ancient custom for the Governours of provinces, to write to the
"Emperour, and give him an account of new and remarkable oc-
"currences, that he might not be ignorant of any thing, our Savi-
"our's resurrection being much talked of throughout all Palestine,
"Pilate informed the Emperour of it, as likewise of his miracles,
"which he had heard of: and that being raised up after he had
"been put to death, he was already believed by many to be a god.
"And it is said, that Tiberius referred the matter to the Senate, but
"that they refused their consent under a pretense, that it had not
"been first approved of by them: there being an ancient law, that
"no one should be deified among the Romans, without an order of
"the Senate: but indeed because the saving and divine doctrine of
"the gospel needed not to be confirmed by human judgement and
"authority. However, Tiberius persisted in his former sentiment,
"and allowed not any thing to be done that was prejudicial to the
"doctrine of Christ. These things are related by Tertullian, a man
"famous on other accounts, and particularly for his skill in the Ro-
"man laws. I say, he speaks thus in his Apologie for the Christi-
"ans, writ by him in the Roman tongue, but since translated into
"Greek. His words are these: *There was an ancient decree, that*
"*no one should be consecrated as a deity by the Emperour, unless he was*
"*first*

(e) *Euseb. H. E. l. 2. cap. 2.*

“ first approved of by the Senate. Marcus Aemilius knows this by his
 “ god Alburnus. This is to our purpose, forasmuch as among you di-
 “ vinity is bestowed by human judgement. And if God does not please
 “ man, he shall not be God. And according to this way of thinking,
 “ man must be propitious to God. Tiberius therefore, in whose time the
 “ Christian name was first known in the world, having received an ac-
 “ count of this doctrine out of Palestine, where it began, communicated
 “ that account to the Senate : giving (f) in at the same time his own
 “ suffrage in favour of it. But the Senate rejected it, because it had
 “ not been approved by themselves. Nevertheless the Emperour persist-
 “ ed in his judgement, and threatened death to such as should accuse the
 “ Christians.” “ Which, adds Eusebius, could be no other than a
 “ disposal of Divine Providence, that the doctrine of the gospel,
 “ which was then in it’s begining, might be preached all over the
 “ world without molestation.” So Eusebius. I forbear as yet to
 take particular notice of what is said of this matter by later wri-
 ters.

Divers exceptions have been made by learned moderns to the ori-
 ginal testimonies of Justin Martyr, and Tertullian. “ Is there any
 “ likelihood, say they, that Pilate should write such things to Tibe-
 “ rius concerning a man, whom he had condemned to death? And
 “ if he had writ them, is it probable, that Tiberius should propose
 “ to the Senate to have a man put among the number of the gods
 “ upon the bare relation of a Governour of a province? And if he
 “ had proposed it, who can make a doubt, that the Senate would not
 “ have immediatly complied? So that though we dare not say, that
 “ this narration is absolutly false, yet it must be reckoned at the least
 “ doubtful.” So says (g) Du Pin.

These and other difficulties shall be considered.

(f) δῆλός αὖ ἐκείνοις, ὡς τῷ δόγματι ἀ-
 ρέσκειται. Ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἐπεὶ οὐκ αὐτῇ
 δεδοκιμάκει, ἀπάσατο. P. 41. C.

(g) Bib. des Aut. Ec. T. i. p. 24. a.

Now therefore I shall mention some observations.

In the *first* place I observe, that *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian* are early writers of good repute. That is an observation of Bp. (*b*) *Pearson*. These testimonies are taken from the most public writings, Apologies for the Christian Religion, presented, or at least proposed and recommended to the Emperour and Senate of Rome, or to Magistrates of high authority and great distinction in the Roman Empire.

Secondly, it certainly was the custom of the Governours of provinces to compose acts, or memoirs, or commentaries of the remarkable occurrences in the places where they presided.

In the time of the first Roman Emperours there were Acts of the Senate, Acts of the City, or People of Rome, Acts of other cities, and Acts of Governours of provinces. Of all these we can discern clear proofs, and frequent mention, in ancient writers of the best credit.

Julius Caesar ordered, that (*i*) Acts of the Senate, as well as daily Acts of the People, should be published.

Augustus (*k*) forbad publishing the Acts of the Senate.

There (*l*) was an officer, himself a Senator, whose province it was to compose those Acts.

The

(*b*) Nihil igitur est, quod in hac historia refelli possit. Et cum Tertullianus adeo gravis, adeo antiquus auctor, adeo rerum Romanarum peritus fuerit, tutius multo est istam Tiberii ad Senatum de Divinitate Christi relationem amplecti. *Pearson. Lektion. in Acta Apost. iv. §. xv. p. 65.*

(*i*) Inito honore, primus omnium instituit, ut tam Senatus quam populi diurna

acta conficerentur. *Sueton. Jul. Caes. cap. 20.*

(*k*) Auctor et aliarum rerum fuit: in quibus ne acta Senatus publicarentur. *Sueton. Aug. cap. 36.*

(*l*) Fuit in Senatu Junius Rusticus, componendis patrum actis delectus a Caesare, eoque meditationes ejus introspicere creditur. *Tacit. Ann. l. 5. cap. 4.*

The Acts of the Senate must have been large and voluminous, containing (*m*) not only the question proposed, or referred to the Senate by the Consul, or the Emperor, but also the debates and speeches of the Senators.

The (*n*) Acts of the People, or City, were journals or registers of remarkable births, marriages, divorces, deaths, proceedings in Courts of judicature, and other interesting affairs, and some other things, below the dignity of historie :

To (*o*) these Acts, of each kind, Roman authors frequently had recourse for information.

There were such Acts or registers at other places, beside Rome, particularly at *Antium*. From them (*p*) *Suetonius* learned the day and place of the birth of *Caligula*, about which there were other uncertain reports. And he speaks of those Acts (*q*) as public authorities, and therefore more decisive and satisfactorie, than some other accounts.

S s 2

There

(*m*) Nescio an venerint in manus vestras haec vetera, quae et antiquorum bibliothecis adhuc manent, et nunc maxime a Minucio contrahuntur : ac jam undecim, ut opinor, Actorum libris, et tribus Epistolarum composita, et edita sunt. Ex his intelligi potest, Cn. Pompejum et Marcum Crassum, non viribus modo et armis, sed ingenio quoque et oratione valuisse. &c. *Tacit. seu quis alius, in Dialog. de Orator. cap. 37.*

Acta Senatus vocabant commentarios, Graece ὑπομνήματα, quibus breviter inscriptum quicquid apud Patres diceretur, agereturque. . . . Venio ad populi. &c. *Lipsii Excurs. ad Taciti libr. v. annal. cap. 4.*

(*n*) Nerone secundum et Lucio Pisone Consulibus, pauca memoria digna evenie-

re : nisi cui libeat, laudandis fundamentis et trabibus, quis molem amphitheatrici apud Campum Martis Caesar adstruxerat, volumina implere : cum ex dignitate populi Romani repertum sit, res illustres annalibus, talia diurnis actis mandare. *Tacit. Ann. l. 13. cap. 31.*

(*o*) Matrem Antoniam non apud auctores rerum, non diurna Actorum scriptura, reperio ullo insigni officio functam. *Tacit. Ann. l. 3. cap. 3.*

(*p*) Ubi natus sit, incertum diversitas tradentium facit. . . . Ego in Actis Antii invenio editum. *Sueton. Cal. cap. 8. Vid. et Tiber. cap. 5.*

(*q*) Sequenda igitur est, quae sola restat, publici instrumenti auctoritas. *Id. Calig. cap. 8.*

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There were also Acts of the Governors of provinces, registering all remarkable transactions and occurrences. *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian* could not be mistaken about this. And the learned Bishop of Cesarea admits the truth of what they say. And in the time of the persecuting Emperour Maximin, in the year of Christ 307. or thereabout, the Heathen people forged Acts of Pilate, derogatorie to the honour of our Saviour, which were very diligently spread abroad, to unsettle Christians, or discourage them in the profession of their faith. Of this we are informed by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical Historie (r).

Thirdly, it was customary for Governours of provinces to send to the Emperour an account of remarkable transactions in the places where they presided (s).

So thought the learned Eusebius, as we have seen. And Pliny's letters to Trajan, still extant, are a proof of it. Philo (t) speaks of the Acts or Memoirs of Alexandria, sent to Caligula, which that Emperour read with more eagerness and satisfaction, than any thing else.

The (u) Acts of Pontius Pilate, and his Letter to Tiberius, which we now have, are not genuine, but manifestly spurious. Nevertheless it must be allowed by all, that (x) Pontius Pilate composed some memoirs

(r) *Vid. H. E. l. i. cap. ix. et l. 9. cap. v.*

(s) Omnino igitur credendum est aliqua fuisse Pilati acta, ipsius auctoritate confecta, et ad Tiberium transmissa. *Pearson. Lect. iii. in Act. Ap. §. iv.*

(t) ... τῇ μὲν ταῖς ὑπομνηματικαῖς ἐφημέρισιν, ὅς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας διέπεμψεν τὸ τιναί, προσέχων ἥδισον γὰρ ἦν ἀνάγνωσμα τῷ αὐτῷ, ὡς τὰ ἄλλων συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν ἀνδράγατα συγκρίσει τῆς ἐν τούτοις χά-

ειτος νομίζεσθαι. κ. λ. *Philo de Legat. ad Caium. p. 1016. A.*

(u) *Vid. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. N. T. p. 298. et p. 972. 6c.*

(x) Imo non potuit Pilatus officii sui rationem tantopere negligere, ut tantae rei in suâ provinciâ gestae notitiam Imperatori non impartiretur. *Pearson. ubi sup. Lect. iv. n. xiv. Vid. et Tob. Echard. cap. iv. n. xi. p. 126.*

memoirs concerning our Saviour, and sent them to the Emperour, whether Justin Martyr and Tertullian have given a just account of them, or not.

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Fourthly, It (y) is said to be very unlikely, that Pilate should write such things to Tiberius, concerning a man, whom he had condemned to death.

To which it is easie to reply, that if he wrote to Tiberius at all, it is very likely, that he should speak favorably, and honorably of our Saviour. That (z) Pilate past sentence of condemnation upon our Lord very unwillingly, and not without a sort of compulsion, appears from the historie of the Evangelists. Matt. xxvii. 11. 26. 62. . . . 65. Mark xv. 1. . . . 15. Luke xxiii. 1. . . . 25. John xvii. 28. . . . 40. xix 1. . . . 13. Pilate was hard pressed. The rulers of the Jews *vehemently accused* our Lord to him. They said, *they had found him perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cesar, saying, that himself is Christ, a King*, and the like. And all without effect for a great while. Pilate still sought for expedients to set Jesus at liberty. As his reluctance had been very manifest and public in a court of judicature, in the chief city of the nation, at the time of one of their great festivals: it is highly probable, that when he sent to Rome, he should make some apologie for this conduct. Nor could any thing be more proper, than to allege some of our Saviour's miracles, which he had heard of, and to give an account of the zeal of those who professed faith in him, after his ignominious crucifixion,

(y) *Negare interim minime velim, Pilatum aliquid super tali ac tanto negotio scripsisse: at incertum esse quid ac quale id fuerit, atque ideo prudentiores, Eusebium, Hieronymum, similesque, talia cautius prodidisse. Ant. Vandale Diff. de Actis Pilati. p. 615. Amst. 1700.*

(z) . . . *cujus et Pilatus, qui nolens compulsus est, contra Dominum ferre sententiam. Hieron. adv. Jovin. l. 2. p. 218. Tom. 4.*

A. D. 33. cifixion, and openly asserted, that he was risen from the dead, and ascended up to heaven.

If Pilate sent any letter to Tiberius, (as very probably he did,) he would not dare to write falsehood, nor to conceal the most material circumstances of the case, about which he was writing. At the trial of Jesus, he publicly declared his innocence: and told the Jews several times, *that he found in him no fault at all*. And when he was going to pronounce the sentence of condemnation, *he took water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just person. See ye to it.* Matt. xxvii. 24. When he wrote to Tiberius, he would be very naturally led to say something of our Lord's wonderfull resurrection and ascension, which were much talked of, and believed by many, with which he could not possibly be unacquainted. The mention of these things would be the best vindication of his inward persuasion, and repeated declarations of our Lord's innocence upon the trial, notwithstanding the loud clamours, and united accusations of the Jewish people, and their rulers.

Pilate, as has been said several times, passed condemnation upon Jesus, very unwillingly, and not till after a long trial. When he passed sentence upon him, he gave orders, that this title, or inscription should be put upon the crosse: *Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews*. When he had expired, application was made to Pilate, by Joseph of Arimathea, an honourable Counsellor, that the body might be taken down and buried. To which he consented, but not till after assurance received from the Centurion, that he had been some time dead. The next day some of the *Priests and Pharisees* came to him, saying: *Sir, we remember that that deceiver said, while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again. Command therefore, that the sepulchre be made sure, untill the third day, lest his disciples come by night, and steal him away, and say unto the people, He*

is risen from the dead. So the last error shall be worse than the first. Pilate said unto them. Ye have a watch. Go your way, make it as sure as ye can. So they went, and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone, and setting a watch. Whilst they were at the sepulchre, there was a great earthquake, the stone was rolled away by an angel, whose countenance was like lightening, and for fear of whom the guards did shake and became as dead men. Some of the guards went down into the city, and shewed unto the chief priests, all the things that were done. Nor can there be any doubt, that those things came also to the Governour's ears. Pilate therefore was furnished with many materials of great importance relating to this case, very proper to be sent to the Emperour. And very probably he did send them. For he could do no otherwise.

Fifthly, It is said, that (a) if Pilate had sent such things to Tiberius, it is nevertheless very unlikely, that Tiberius should propose to the Senate, that our Saviour might be put among the number of the Gods. For that Emperour had little or no regard to things of religion.

But it is easie to answer, that such observations are of little or no importance. Few princes are able to preserve uniformity in the whole of their conduct. And it is certain, that Tiberius varied from himself upon many occasions, and in different parts of his life.

Sixthly,

(*) Illud certe dubitare non possumus, Pilatum vocasse ad se hos milites, ex hisque rem verè gestam cognovisse. *Heumann Testimonium militum de Resurrectione Christi*. p. 100. ap. *Primitias Gotting.*

(a) Mihi certe, . . . haud facile, persuaserim, Tiberium Caesarem, cujus mores ab omni religionum omnium cultu perquam fuisse alienissimos, comperior, de

Christo Dom. et Christiana religione, tantopere curasse, ut de illa retulerit ad Senatum, . . . Tota hominis vita nil aliud praedicat, quam quod dico. Et Suetonio dictum est expresse et signanter. *Circa deos, ac religiones, negligentior, quippe adiectus mathematicae, persuasivisque plenus tunc fatus agi.* *Tan. Fab. l. 2. Ep. 12.* p. 35.

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Sixthly, It is farther urged, that (*b*) if Tiberius had proposed the thing to the Senate, there can be no doubt, that the Senate would have immediatly complied.

But neither is this difficulty insuperable. For we are assured by Suetonius, that (*c*) Tiberius let several things be decided by the Senate, contrarie to his own opinion, without shewing much uneasiness.

And when he had determined to remove and destroy Sejanus, who had long been his favourite; he was far from being certain of the Senate's compliance. He (*d*) employed the utmost art and skill, and yet was for some while anxious and doubtfull of the issue.

Seventhly, The right interpretation of the words of Tertullian will be of use to remove difficulties, and to confirm the truth of the account.

I have translated them in this manner. *When Tiberius referred the matter to the Senate, that our Lord should be placed in the number of the gods, the Senate refused, because he had himself declined that honour.* The words are understood to the like purpose by (*e*) Pearson.

There is another sense, which is that of the Greek translation of Tert-

(*b*) Hem ! Respuit Senatus, quod Tiberio placuit. *T. Faber. ibid.*

(*c*) Quaedam adversus sententiam suam decerni ne questus quidem est. . . Cum senatusconsultum per discessionem forte fieret, transeuntem eum in alteram partem, in qua pauciores erant, secutus est nemo. . . &c. *Sueton. Tiber. cap. 31.*

(*d*) Sejanum res novas molientem . . . vix tandem, et astu magis ac dolo, quam principali auctoritate subvertit. *Sueton. ib. cap. 65.*

(*e*) *Senatus, inquit Tertullianus, quia in se non probaverat.* Ubi optima facti ratio redditur. Senatus antea Tiberio divinitatem obtulerat, quam ille sibi oblatam respuit. Temples, Flamines, sacerdotes decerni sibi prohibuit. . . ut refert Suetonius. Quia igitur divinitatem in se non probaverat Tiberius, sed oblatam rejecerat, tutissimum putabat Senatus alium neminem in deos suos referre, ne eum Tiberio majorem efficere viderentur. *Pearson. Lect. 4. num. xiv.*

Tertullian's Apologie, made use of by Eusebius. *The Senate refused, because it had not itself approved of it.* But that sense, if it be any sense at all, is absurd, and therefore unlikely. If none beside the Senate had a right to consecrate any for a deity, yet certainly the Consul, or the Emperour, might refer such a thing to that venerable body. According to Tertullian's account, the whole is in a fair way of legal proceeding. By virtue of an ancient law, no one might be reckoned a god (at least by the Romans,) without the approbation of the Senate. Tiberius having been informed of some extraordinary things concerning Jesus, referred it to the Senate, that he also might be placed in the number of the deities. Was it possible, after this, that the Senate should refuse it, under a pretense, that Tiberius had bestowed divinity upon Jesus, without their consent, when he had done no such thing, and at that very time was referring it to their judgement in the old legal way?

Le Clerc objects, that (*f*) the true reading in Tertullian is not, *quia in se non probaverat*, but *quia non ipse probaverat*. Be it so. The meaning is the same. *Ipse* must intend the Emperour, not the Senate. The other sense is absurd, and next to a contradiction, and therefore not likely to be right. And at the same time it is a rude and needless affront. The other interpretation represents a handsome compliment, and a compliment not without foundation. For it is very true, that (*g*) Tiberius had himself declined receiving divine honours.

Eighthly, It has been objected, that Tiberius was unfriendly, to the Jewish people, and therefore it must be reckoned very impro-

(*f*) Cleric. H. E. an. 29. n. 97.

(*g*) Templâ, flamines, sacerdotes, discerni sibi prohibuit: etiam statuas, atque imagines, nisi permittente se, poni: per-

misitque ea sola conditione, ne inter simulachra deorum, sed inter ornamenta aedium ponerentur. *Sueton. Tiber. cap.* 26.

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bable, that he should be willing to put a man, who was a Jew, among the number of the gods.

But there is little or no ground for this objection. It was obviated long ago in the first part of this work, where, beside other things, it is said. "In the (*b*) reign of Tiberius the Jewish people were generally well used. They were indeed banished out of Italy, by an edict: but it was for a misdemeanour, committed by some villains of that nation. The great hardship was, that many innocent persons suffered beside the guilty. Upon other occasions, Tiberius shewed the Jews all the favour they could desire, especially after the death of Sejanus, and is much applauded for it by (*i*) Philo." And what there follows.

Ninthly, Still it is urged, "Nothing (*k*) can be more absurd than to suppose, that Tiberius would receive for a deity a man, who taught the worship of one God only, and whose religion decried all other deities, as mere fictions."

Upon which I must say: Nothing can be more absurd, than this objection. Tertullian does not suppose Tiberius to be well acquainted with the Christian Religion, or our Saviour's doctrine. All he says is, that having heard of some extraordinarie things concerning him, he had a desire to put him among the Roman deities.

Tenthly, Tertullian proceeds. "Nevertheless the Emperour persisted in his opinion, and ordered, that if any accused the Christians, they should be punished."

This

(*b*) See the *Credib. P. i. B. i. ch. viii. p. 394.*

(*i*) *De Legat. ad Caium. p. 1015. C. D.*

(*k*) Noverat Jesum fuisse hominem Judaeum, uniusque Dei cultorem, et qui omnes alios deos, quasi hominum com-

menta rejiceret: ac proinde religionem, qua cum iis conjungeretur, summo opere improbaturum, si in coelo viveret: et tamen eum una cum Romanis diis coli voluisset. Quo nihil absurdius fingi poterat. *Cleric. H. E. an. 29. n. 96.*

This was very natural. Though the Senate would not put Jesus in the number of the deities, the Emperour was still of opinion, that it might have been done. And he determined to provide by an edict for the safety of those, who professed a high regard for Jesus Christ. Which edict, as Eusebius reasonably supposes, was of use for securing the free preaching of the gospel in many places. But the authority of that edict would cease at the Emperour's demise, if not sooner. Undoubtedly, it could not be in force, or have any great effect, for a long season.

Nor need we to consider the ordering such an edict as this, in favour of the Christians as an incredible thing: if we observe what Philo says, who assures us, “that (l) Tiberius gave orders to all the Governours of provinces, to protect the Jews in the cities where they lived, in the observation of their own rites and customs: and that they should bear hard upon none of them, but such as were unpeaceable, and transgressed the laws of the state.”

Nor is it improbable, that the Christians should partake of the like civilities, they being considered as a sect of the Jews. And it is allowed that the Roman Emperour's did not openly persecute the Christians, till they became so numerous, that the Heathen people were apprehensive of the total overthrow of their religion.

In the *eleventh* place. Says a learned and judicious (m) writer: “It is probable, that Pilate, who had no enmity toward Christ, and accounted him a man justly accused, and an extraordinarie person, might be moved by the wonderfull circumstances attending and following his death, to hold him in veneration, and perhaps to think him a Hero, and the son of some Deity. It is possible, that he might send a narrative, such as he thought most convenient, of these transactions to Tiberius: but it is not at all likely, that Ti-

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berius

(l) . . . ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῖς ἀπίστοις. De Legat. ad Caium, p. 1015. C.

(m) Dr. Fortin's Remarks upon Ecclesiastical Historie. vol. i. p. 2. . . 4.

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“berius proposed to the Senate, that Christ should be deified, and
 “that the Senate rejected it, and that Tiberius continued favour-
 “ably disposed toward Christ, and that he threatened to punish
 “those, who should molest, and accuse the Christians.” “Observe
 “also, *says the same learned writer*, that the Jews persecuted the A-
 “postles, and slew Stephen, and that Saul made havock of the
 “Church, entering into every house, and haling men and women,
 “committed them to prison, and that Pilate connived at all this vi-
 “olence, and was not afraid of the resentment of Tiberius on that
 “account.”

Admitting the truth of all these particulars just mentioned, it does not follow, that no orders were given by Tiberius for the protection of the followers of Jesus. For no commands of Princes are obeyed by all men every where. They are oftentimes transgressed. Nor was any place more likely than Judea, where the enmity of many against the disciples of Jesus was so great. Nor need it to be supposed, that Tiberius was very intent to have this order strictly regarded. For he was upon many occasions very indolent and dilatorie. And he was well known to be so. Moreover the death of Stephen was tumultuous, and not an act of the Jewish Council. And farther the influence of Pilate in that countrey was not now, in it's full height. We perceive, from the Historie of our Lord's trial before him, as recorded in the Gospels, that he stood in fear of the (n) Jews. “He (o) was apprehensive, that if he did not gratify them
 “in that point, they might draw up a long list of mal-administra-
 “tions for the Emperour's view. His condemnation of Jesus at the
 “importunity of the Jews, contrarie to his own judgement and in-
 “clination, declared to them more than once, was a point gained:
 “and his government must have been ever after much weakened by
 “so

(n) See particularly *John xix. 12.*(o) *Credib. &c. P. i. B. i. ch. 2. §. xii.**p. 195. Comp. B. 2. ch. iii. §. iii. p. 841.*

“ so mean a condescension. And that Pilate’s influence in the province continued to decline, is manifest, in that the people of it prevailed at last to have him removed in a very ignominious manner, by Vitellius President of Syria.”

Pilate was removed from his government before the Passover in the year of Christ 36. After which (*p*) there was no Procurator, or other person with power of life and death, in Judea, before the accession of Herod Agrippa, in the year 41. In that space of time, the Jews would take an unusual licence, and gratify their own malicious dispositions, beyond what they could have otherwise done, without controul.

Twelfthly, Some have objected, that Tertullian is so absurd, as to speak of *Christians*, in the time of Tiberius: though it be certain, that the followers of Jesus were not known by that denomination, till some time afterwards.

But that is a trifling objection. Tertullian intends no more by *Christians* than followers of Jesus, by whatever name they were known and distinguished: whether that of *Nazareans*, or *Galileans*, or *Disciples*. And it is undoubted, that the Christian Religion had it’s rise in the reign of Tiberius: though they who professed to believe in Jesus, as risen from the dead, and ascended to heaven, were not called *Christians*, till some while afterwards. So at the beginning of the paragraph he says, *There was an ancient law, that no god should be consecrated by the Emperour, unless it was first approved by the Senate*. Nevertheless Tertullian was not so ignorant, as not to know, that there were not any Emperours, when that ancient decree was passed. His meaning is, that no one should be deified by any man, no not by a Consul or Emperour, without the approbation of the Senate.

Finally,

(*p*) See *Credib. as before*, p. 196.

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Finally, We do not suppose, that Tiberius understood the doctrine of our Saviour, or that he was at all inclined to be a Christian. Nor did Tertullian intend to say any such thing. For immediatly after the passage first cited from him, he adds. “But (*q*) the Cæsars themselves would have believed in Jesus Christ, if they had not been necessarie for the world, or if Christians could have been “Cæsars.”

Grotius (*r*) appears to have rightly understood the importance of these passages of Tertullian. Whose note therefore upon Matthew xxiv. 11. I have transcribed below.

Admit then the right interpretation of *Tertullian*, and it may be allowed, that what he says, is not incredible, nor improbable. The Romans had almost innumerable deities, and yet they frequently added to that number, and adopted new. As deifications were very frequent, Tiberius might indulge a thought of placing Jesus among the established deities, without (*s*) intending to derogate from the worship or honour of those who were already received. But the Senate was not in the humour to gratify him. And the reason assigned is, because the Emperour himself had declined that honour. Which is so plausible a pretense, and so fine a compliment, that we cannot

(*q*) Sed et Cæsares credidissent super Christo, si aut Cæsares non essent seculo necessarij, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Cæsares. *Apol. cap. 21. p. 22. C.*

(*r*) Cum Paganismo Christianam religionem miscere aggressus est omnium primus Simon Magus, Claudio imperante. Nam et ipse pro deo haberi voluit. Creditibile est, pervenisse ad eum famam consilii ejus, quod a Tiberio datum Senatui Romano legimus, ut Christus adderetur deorum numero. Qualem rerum plane

insociabilium mixturam postea quoque Adrianus, Severus, Heliogabalus, sed frustra, efficere conati sunt. *Grot. ad Matt. xxiv. in.*

(*s*) Tiberius autem non ita Christum voluit deum recipi, ut suetus Romanorum cultus abrogaretur, sed ut juxta coleretur, uti Julium Cæsarem Augustus, et Augustum ipse Tiberius consecraverat, et colli secundum ceteros deos volebat. &c. *Tob. Echard, cap. 4. n. 8. p. 122.*

cannot easily suppose it to be *Tertullian's* own invention. Which therefore gives credibility to the account.

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Eusebius, though he acknowledgeth the overruling Providence of God in the favorable disposition of Tiberius toward the first followers of Jesus, by which means the Christian Religion in it's infancy was propagated over the world with less molestation, does also say, at the beginning of the chapter before quoted: "the Senate refused their consent to the Emperour's proposal, under a pretense, that they had not been first asked, there being an ancient law, that no one should be deified without the approbation of the Senate. But indeed, adds he, because the saving and divine doctrine of the gospel needed not to be ratified by human judgement and authority."

Chrysostom's observation is to the like purpose, but with some inaccuracies. It is likely, that he was not at all acquainted with Tertullian. And he was no admirer of Eusebius. Perhaps he builds upon general tradition only. "The (t) Roman Senate, says he, had the power of nominating, and decreeing, who should be Gods. When therefore all things concerning Christ had been published, he who was the Governour of the Jewish nation, sent to them, to know, if they would be pleased to appoint him also to be a God. But they refused, being offended and provoked, that before their decree and judgement had been obtained, the power of the crucified man had shined out, and had attracted all the world to the worship of him. But (u) by the overruling Providence of God, this was brought to pass against their will, that the divinity of Christ might not be established by human appointment, and that he might not be reckoned one of the many, who were deified by them."

(t) *Chrys. hom. 26. in 2 Cor. T. x. p. 624: A.* ὥστε μὴ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ψῆφον τὴν θεότητα ἀναχθῆναι τῷ Χριστῷ. κ. λ.

(u) Τὸτο δὲ ἀπορομεῖτο καὶ ἀκούσαντων αὐτῶν,

A. D. 33. "them." Some of which, as he proceeds to shew, had been of infamous characters.

I shall now transcribe below (x) in his own words what *Orosius*, in the fifth centurie, says of this matter, that all my readers may have it at once before them, without looking farther for it.

And I refer to *Zonaras* (y) and (z) *Nicephorus*. The former only quotes *Eusebius*, and transcribes into his Annals the chapter of his Ecclesiastical Historie, above quoted by me. Nor has *Nicephorus* done much more.

Upon the whole, I think, the accounts of those ancient authors, *Justin Martyr* and *Tertullian*, deserve some regard. It is upon them that I have made my comments. And my defense is confined to them. And we can perceive from *Eusebius*, and other later writers, that their accounts were received as true. But some make additions, or alterations in *Tertullian's* original narration, which diminish the credibility of the whole. *Orosius* not only says, that the Senate refused to comply with the proposall of *Tiberius*, but also, that *they were so provoked, as to order by an edict, that the Christians should be expelled the City.*

(x) At postquam passus est Dominus Christus, atque a mortuis surrexit, et discipulos suos ad praedicandum dimisit, Pilatus, Praefes Palaestinae provinciae ad Tiberium Imperatorem atque Senatum retulit, de passione et resurrectione Christi, consequentibusque virtutibus, quae per ipsum palam factae fuerant, vel per discipulos ipsius in nomine ejus fiebant, et de eo quod crescente plurimorum fide Deus crederetur. Tiberius cum suffragio magni favoris retulit ad Senatum, ut Christus Deus haberetur. Senatus indignatione motus, quod non sibi prius secundum morem delatum esset, ut de suscipiendo cul-

tu prius ipse decerneret, consecrationem Christi recusavit, edictoquo constituit, exterminandos esse Urbe Christianos: praecipue cum et Sejanus, Praefectus Tiberii, suscipiendae religioni obstinatissime contradiceret. Tiberius tamen edicto accusatoribus Christianorum mortem comminatus est. Itaque Paullatim immutata est illa Tiberii Caesaris laudatissima modestia, in poenam contradictoris Senatus. P. *Orof.* l. 7. cap. 4.

(y) *Zonar.* Ann. T. 2. p. 176.

(z) *Niceph.* l. 2. cap. 8. *Conf.* l. i. cap. 16.

City. Which is loading the historie with two great absurdities. For it is very improbable, that the Christians should be so numerous at Rome in the time of Tiberius, as to occasion any uneasiness to the Senate. And it is equally improbable, that the Senate should behave so rudely to the Emperour. Tertullian's account is free from such things, and ought not to be rejected, because of additions made by later writers.

The truth of Tertullian's account has been contested by divers learned moderns. I have already taken notice of what is said by *Du Pin*, and have also considered the objections of some others. I now willingly refer to divers others (*a*) on the same side. Other learned men (*b*) have embraced it, as true, and have taken a good deal of pains to vindicate it against objections. *Pearson* (*c*) in particular, is very favorable to this historie. And in the course of my argument I have quoted him several times. The late Mr. *Mosheim* (*d*) also was

(*a*) *Tan. Faber*, l. 2. Ep. xii. *Vandale de Orac.* p. 455. et *Diff. de Actis Pilati.* p. 608. &c. *Amst.* 1700. *Cleric. H. E. ann.* 29. n. 96. &c. *Basnag. ann.* 33. n. 192. . . . 196. et *Exercitat.* p. 136. &c. *Sig. Havercamp. Annot. ad Tertullian. Apol. cap. v. Fortin's Remarks upon Ecclesiastical Historie.* vol. i. p. 2. . . . 4.

(*b*) *Sueur Histoire de l'Eglise et de l'Empire.* Tom. i. p. 130. 131. *Tillem. Mem. Ecc.* T. i. S. Pierre art. 19. et notes xvi. . . . xix. *Fr. Balduin. Comment. ad Edicta veterum Principum Roman. de Christianis.* p. 20. . . . 24. 1727. *Tob. Eckbard. non Christianorum de Christo Testimonia.* cap. iv. *J. A. Fabr. Lux Evangelii.* cap. xii. p. 220. . . . 222. *La Religion Chret. autorisée par le temoignage des anciens au-*

teurs Payens. Par D. Colonia. Tom. 2. ch. xi. . . . *Lettre de M. Iselin Docteur et Professeur en Theologie à Basle, sur le projet conçu par Tibere, de mettre N. S. J. C. au nombre des Dieux de Romae.* *Bib. Germanique T.* 32. p. 147. &c. et *T.* 33. p. 12. &c.

(*c*) *Pearson. Lektion. in Act. Ap.* iii. et iv.

(*d*) *Negant hodie viri sagaces et eruditi, fidem huic narrationi habendam esse. Ego vero superstitiosi nomen minime formido, si dixero, non prorsus eam mihi rejiciendam videri.* *Mosheim. Institution. H. Christianae Maj. Sec. i. P. i. c. 4. §. ix.* p. 109. A. D. 1739.

Sunt quidem viri eruditi, quibus hoc alienissimum a vero videtur: sed his alii doctri-

A. D. was of opinion, that it ought not to be entirely rejected, and has
33. spoken in favour of it in several of his works.

*The Re-
lation of
Thamus
concern-
ing the
Death of
Pan.*

II. There is another thing, which may not be omitted here, though it appears to me to be of little or no importance.

It is a storie told by Cleombrotus, one of the speakers in Plutarch's dialogue concerning the cessation of oracles. "He (a) had it
" from Epitherses, his master in grammar. He said, he was sail-
" ing for Italie in a ship well freighted with merchandise, in which
" also were many passengers. When they were one evening among
" the islands called Echinades in the Aegean Sea, the ship was be-
" calmed. Most of the passengers were awake, and some were ca-
" rousing after supper. At the same time there came a voice from
" the island Paxae, which called aloud for *Thamus*. He was an
" Egyptian, and the pilot, and not so much as known by name
" to many of the passengers. He suffered himself to be called
" twice, without making any answer. But at the third call he spoke.
" The voice then with great vehemence said to him. *When you*
" *come to the Palodes, declare, that the great Pan is dead.* They
" were all astonished, when they heard this, and debated the mat-
" ter, whether it were fit to perform the order or not. *Thamus*
" determined, that, if when they were arrived at the appointed
" place, there was wind enough to sail forward, he would pass by
" in silence. But if the vessel was becalmed, he would publish
" what

doctrina non inferiores rationes opponunt
haud facile destruendas. *Id. De Reb. Chri-*
stian. ante Const. M. p. 92.

• Erudite, post Theod. Haseum peculi-
ari libello de Decreto Tiberii, quo Christum
referre voluit in numerum Deorum. *Ersurti.*
1715. 4. edito. pro veritate hujus facti mi-

litavit ven. Jac. Christoph. Isellus, episto-
la Gallica, quae legitur Bibliothecae
Germanicae. T. 32. p. 147. et T. 33.
p. 12. *Mosbem. Insti. Hist. Ec. p. 30.*
ed. 1755. Conf. supra. not. (b).

(a) *Plut. de Oracul. Defectu. Et vid.*
Euseb. Pr. Ev. p. 206.

“ what he had heard. When they came over against Palodes, the
 “ winds and waves were all calm. *Thamus* therefore placing him-
 “ self at the stern of the vessel, with his face toward the land, de-
 “ clared as he had been told, *that the great Pan was dead*. Scarcely
 “ had he done speaking, when they heard from the shores groans
 “ and lamentations, not of one, but as of a great multitude. As
 “ there were many in the ship, who were witnesses of this affair,
 “ the fame of it spread in a short time, so far as Rome, and *Tha-*
 “ *mus* was sent for by the Emperour *Tiberius*. And *Tiberius* gave
 “ such credit to the account, that he called together several learned
 “ men to inquire of them, who this Pan was. They delivered it
 “ as their opinion, that he was son of *Mercurie* and *Penelope*.”

As this storie is placed in the time of *Tiberius*, some learned men have been of opinion, that (*b*) by the *great Pan* was meant *Jesus Christ*, the Lord of the universe, who suffered in the time of that Emperour. *Huet* (*c*) gives credit to this storie, and supposeth, that

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thereby

(*b*) Ex hisce audiamus, quaeso, primo loco, Boissardum in hunc modumloquentem. . . Quidam existimant vocem illam locutam fuisse de Christi servatoris morte, cum audita sit anno decimo nono imperii Caesaris, quo Christus crucifixus est. Et hunc credimus universae naturae et totius mundi Dominum et formatorem. *Vandale de Orac.* p. 435.

Huic narrationi fidem creat circumstantia temporis. Incidit enim haec res in tempus, quo Christus mortuus est. Estque verisimile, ejulationes daemonum inde ortas, quod scirent, morte Christi Satanæ regnum concidisse. Est enim Pan vox aptissima ad significandum Dominum universi, qui est omnia in omnibus, ut ait Paulus. 1 Cor.

xv. 28. *Petrus Mornaeus, citat. a Vandale. ib.* p. 437.

(*c*) Ethnicis vero stupendo miraculo Christi Jesu significata mors est, quod in libello de deſitis oraculis Plutarchus refert. Id quamquam a vulgo scriptorum tritum est, minime tamen ob admirabilitatem rei pigebit hic adscribere. . . Narrat id apud Plutarchum Aemilianus Rhetor, ut sibi a patre Epitherſe, rei teste, traditum. Atqui id convenit in tempus mortis Christi Jesu, qui verus Pan est, rerum omnium parens, ac naturæ totius auctor, quam Panos symbolo Mythologi signatam voluerunt. *Huet. Dem. Ev. Prop. ix. cap. 136.* p. 630. See likewise *Tillemont. Mem. Ec. J. C. art. 21. et note 31.*

A. D. 33. thereby the death of Christ, who is the true Pan, the parent of all things, and the author of all nature, was notified to Heathen people.

I shall now make two or three remarks, which are referred to the consideration of my readers.

1. The whole storie is improbable, and has more the appearance of fiction, than of truth and credibility.

2. This storie is all over heathenish. If there be any truth in the account, when it was brought to Rome, and the affair was examined by the learned philologists at the court of Tiberius; their determination was, that the Pan, who was reported to be dead, was the son of Mercurie and Penelope. Neither *Thamus*, nor *Epitherses*, nor *Tiberius*, nor the learned men, whom he consulted, nor yet *Plutarch*, and his companie, who lived some good while after the death of our Lord, and the publication of his gospel, had any notion that this related to Jesus Christ.

That this storie is throughout heathenish, may be argued from what is said presently afterwards by *Demetrius*, another of the speakers in that dialogue of Plutarch. “ That most of the islands near
 “ Britain are desert, and consecrated to demons and heroes: and
 “ that being sent by the Emperour to take a survey of those islands,
 “ he landed on one of them, which had a few inhabitants: and
 “ that soon after his arrival, there happened a tempest, with terrible claps of thunder and lightening. When the tempest was over,
 “ the people of the island gave out, that some one of the principal
 “ demons was dead. A candle, said they, when it burns, is pleasant. But when it goes out, it leaves a stink behind. Even so
 “ the deaths of great souls produce storms, and sometimes a pestiferous air. To which *Demetrius* added, that in one of those islands Saturn was bound, and guarded by Briareus, and that there
 “ were

“ were many demons attending upon him, as his slaves and ministers.” All fiction surely, but representing, as may be supposed, the doctrine of credulous Heathens concerning demons.

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All which, however, is quoted by Eusebius (*d*) from Plutarch, to prove the cessation or the declension of oracles soon after the coming of Christ.

His remark is to this purpose. “ So far Plutarch. But it will be worth the while to observe the time, when he says, the death of that demon happened. It was in the time of Tiberius. At that time our Saviour dwelt among men, and it is written of him that he expelled all sorts of demons. And some of them fell down before him, entreating him, that he would not send them into the Abyſſe. Here then, you have the true time of the expulsion of demons out of this world, a thing never heard of before. Nor was there an end put to human sacrifices, so common among the Gentils, till the evangelical doctrine had been preached to all men.” So Eusebius.

And though (*e*) *Colonia* flourisheth mightily upon this storie, he in the end finds it prudent to content himself, with considering it, as an argument, “ that (*) the Gentils themselves acknowledged the general downfall or declension of their oracles, after the time of Tiberius, and the coming of Christ, and that two centuries before Eusebius.” A point, about which I do not now particularly concern my-self.

Before I conclude this article, I would observe, that (*f*) *Baronius* did

(*d*) *Praep. Evang. l. v. cap. 17. p. 206.*
... 208.

(*e*) *La Religion Chrétienne, &c. Tom. i.*
p. 124 &c.

(*) p. 129.

(*f*) *Hactenus de Pane Eusebius ex Plutarcho. . . Sane quidem si rei gestae fidem adhibendam esse putamus, &c. Baron. Ann. 34. num. 130.*

A. D. 33. did not fully relye upon the truth of the storie, told in Plutarch, concerning the Pilot *Thamuis*: and that (g) the Centuriators of Magdeburg consider it as an absurd and ridiculous fiction. So likewise does (h) *Basnage*, who has offered more reasons in behalf of his opinion, than need to be repeated by me here.

(g) Ubi et de Pane mortuo ridicula narrat. *Centur. Magdeb. Sec. i. lib. 2. cap. xv.*

(h) Nobis vero propius est, hanc Epi-

therfis narrationem esse fabulis apponendam: neque Christi passionem Panis morte significatam. . . . *Basu. Ann. 33. num. 124.*



C H A P. III.

*A Monumental Inscription concerning the
Christians in the time of Nero.*

WHAT offers next is an inscription of the Emperour NERO;
on a monument found in Portugal (*a*).

To Nero Claudius Caesar,
Augustus, High-Priest,
For clearing the Province
Of Robbers, and Those
Who taught Mankind
A New Superstition.

None

(*a*) In ruinis pagi Marquosiae in Lusitania. Ap. Gruter. p. 238. 9.

NERONI. CL. CAIS
AUG. PONT. MAX
OB PROVINC. LATRONIB
ET. HIS. QUI. NOVAM
GENERI. HUM. SUPER
STITION. INCULCAB
PURGATAM

A. D.
68.

None can doubt, that by the *new superstition* is here intended Christianity. Some have questioned the genuineness of this inscription, because, say they, Nero's persecution extended no farther than Rome. The pretense for punishing them there was a charge of having set fire to the city. But it could not be so much as pretended, that they who dwelt in remote countreys were concerned in that fact.

If this be the only objection, the inscription may be reckoned very good. For if the Christians living at Rome were charged with so great a crime, all of that sect in any place would share in the scandal, and might be judged a vile sort of people, fit to be destroyed. And indeed the Christians at Rome were as innocent, as they at the greatest distance. Besides, it will presently appear from Tacitus, that the Christians were then much hated, and that they suffered at Rome, not barely as guilty of setting fire to the City, but also for their supposed enmity to mankind. And Suetonius, in his account of the sufferings of the Christians in this reign, says nothing of any concern in the fire: but only, that they were a *people of a new and pernicious or magical superstition*.

Which leads me to observe farther, that the stile of the Inscription is agreeable to that of Tacitus and Suetonius, some of the earliest Heathen writers, who have mentioned the Christians.

If the persecution in Nero's time never became universal, it might take place in some of the provinces, particularly, in that part of Spain, which is now called *Portugal*. The Christian writers, who speak of Nero's persecution, do (*b*) in effect, or expressly say, it was

(*b*) Consulite commentarios vestros. sectam cum maxime Romae orientem
Illic reperiatis, primum Neronem in hanc Caesareano gladio ferocisse. Sed tali de-
dicatore

was general: (c) that from Rome it spread into the provinces, and was authorised by public edicts. A. D. 68.

Though there remain this monument only, there may have been others of the like kind, which have been destroyed out of aversion to the memorie of Nero, or by some of those many accidents, to which all things are liable in a long course of years.

If this inscription be genuine, it is as early an Heathen monument, as we could expect to find remaining concerning Christianity: especially so far off from Judea as Lusitania, now called Portugal. It must have been set up in the life-time of Nero, who died in June, A. D. 68. or at the utmost, before his death was publickly known. For after that no people paid him any honours.

I have shewn, that the stile of this inscription is agreeable to early antiquity. And I have answered the objection taken from the supposed narrow limits of Nero's persecution. Nevertheless it must be acknowledged, that the genuinenesse of it is not assented to by all. Joseph Scaliger (*d*) doubted. Pagi (*e*) and others, have endeavored to

dicatore damnationis nostrae etiam gloriamur. *Tertullian. Ap. cap. 5.*

Cum animadverteret Nero, non modo Romae, sed ubique quotidie magnam multitudinem deficere a cultu idolorum . . . profuit ad excidendum coeleste templum, delendamque justitiam, et primus omnium persecutus Dei servos, &c. *Lactant. vel Caecilius de M. P. cap. 2.*

(c) Hoc initio in Christianos saeviri coeptum. Post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur: palamque edictis propositis Christianum esse non licebat. *Sulp. Sev. Hist. l. 2. cap. 41.*

Primus Romae Christianos suppliciis et mortibus affecit, ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione excruciarı imperavit. *Oros. l. 7. c. 7.*

(*d*) Neque solum Romae saevitum in Christianos, sed etiam in provinciis. Exstat vetus inscriptio in Hispania loco Pisu- erga vocato: in quo sine dubio haec crudelitas tangitur, siquidem vera est illa inscriptio. Nam dubito. *De Emend. Temp. p. 471.*

(*e*) Pagi ann. 64. n. iv. *J. E. I. Walchius De Persecutione Christian. Neroniana in Hispania.*

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68.

to vindicate it. Some others still (*f*) hesitate. This monument, they say, has been seen by few or none. And the credit of the first publisher of the inscription is not established above all suspicion of falsehood and imposture.

I therefore must not insist upon it, as certainly genuine and ancient: though I could not forbear to propose it to be considered. Nor do I think, that any can dislike my placing it here before my readers.

(*f*) *Exstat celebris haec inscriptio apud Jan. Gruter. p. 238. n. 9. Ipsi vero praestantissimi Hispanorum viri auctoritatem hujus inscriptionis tueri non audent, quippe quam nemo unquam vidit, et Cyriacus Anconitanus primus protulit, homo, quod omnes sciunt, fallax, et, si quis alius, mae fidei. &c. J. L. Mosheim. Instit. Hist. Ec. p. 37.*

Verum magni homines post Scalige-

rum dubitant, quid de fide et auctoritate monumenti hujus statuendum sit: et, ut arbitror, justissimas habent dubitandi causas. Nemo enim vel Hispanorum, vel Lusitanorum, lapidem hunc unquam vidit, quod ipsi doctissimi Hispaniae viri non diffidentur. Is vero, si aliquando existisset, magnâ certe curâ ob insigne pretium assertus fuisset. *Id. De Reb. Christian. p. 109.*



C H A P. IV.

P L I N Y T H E E L D E R.

CAIUS PLINIUS SECUNDUS, or (a) PLINY THE ELDER, was born at Verona, in the reign of Tiberius. He had divers public posts under the Emperours Vespasian, and Titus. Notwithstanding which, he redeemed a great deal of time for reading, and writing, in which he was indefatigable. He was suffocated in the smoak and ashes of Vesuvius, in the 56. year of his age, and the first year of the reign of Titus, in the year 79. His *Natural History* was published, and inscribed to Vespasian, or, as others think, to Titus, in the year of our Lord 77. before he was Emperour.

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77.

In his Historie is a chapter concerning the Origin of Magick: Where are these words: “ There (b) is another sect of Magicians, depending on (or deriving from) Moses, and Jamnes, and

X x 2

“ Jotapes,

(a) *Vid. Plin. Ep. l. vi. 16. et 20. Voss. de H. L. l. i. cap. 29. Fabr. Bib. Lat. l. 2. c. 13. Basnag. Ann. 77. ii. et 79. v. Tillem. H. E. Tite. art. vi. Crevier's History of the Roman Emperours. B. xvii. vol. 6. p. 291.*

(b) *Est et alia Magicis factio, a Mose et Jamne, et Jotape Judaeis pendens, sed multis millibus annorum post Zoroastrem. Tanto recentior est Cypria. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 30. cap. i. De Origine Magicae artis, quando, et a quibus ceperat. &c.*

A. D. 77. " Jotapes, who were Jews, but many thousand years since Zoroas-
" ter. Still so much later is the Cyprian."

Some have thought, that in this last Plinie refers to the blindnesse inflicted by St. Paul on Elymas the forcerer in the presence of Sergius Paulus, Proconsul of Cyprus, and related in Acts xiii. But I do not affirm it.



C H A P. V.

T A C I T U S.

- I. *His Historie, Time, and Works.* II. *Pomponia Graecina, a Roman Lady, accused of a foreign Superstition in the year of Christ 57. the fourth year of Nero's Reign.* III. *His Account of Nero's Persecution of the Christians.* IV. *His Testimonie to the Jewish War, and the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.*

I. **C**AIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS, (a) whose ancestors are unknown, was (b) older than the younger Plinie, who was born in the year of our Lord 61. or 62. In the year 77. or 78. he married the daughter of Cnaeus Julius Agricola (c) famous for his consulship, and government of Britain. He (d) enjoyed

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His Historie, and Works.

(a) *Vid. G. J. Voss. de Hist. Lat. Lipsi Vit. Tacit. Fabric. Bib. Lat. Tom. i. Bayle Diction. Tillemont H. E. Trajan. art. 27.*

(b) *Equidem adolescentulus, quum jam tu samâ gloriâque floreret, te sequi, tibi longo, sed proximus, intervallo, et esse et haberi concupiscebam. Plin. l. 7. Ep.*

(c) *Consul egregiae tum spei filiam juveni mihi despondit, ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adjecto pontificatus sacerdotio. Tacit. Vit. Agr. cap. 9.*

(d) *Vid. Tacit. Hist. l. i. cap. 1.*

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joyed divers posts of honour and trust under Vespasian, and the following Emperours. He was Praetor of Rome, under Domitian, in 88. and Consul, in the short reign of Nerva, in 97. The year was opened by *Nerva* and *T. Virginius Rufus*, who were then both of them the third time Consuls. *Virginius Rufus*, who was a man of great eminence, and then of a great age, died in his consulship. Whereupon (e) Tacitus was substituted in his room, and pronounced his panegyric.

But, as has been often observed, his writings have gained him more honour than all his dignities. His works seem to have been published by him in this order: first his *Description of Germanie*, next *the Life of Agricola*, his father-in-law, after that his *Histories*, beginning with Galba, and ending at the death of Domitian, and lastly, his *Annals*, beginning with Tiberius, and ending at the death of Nero. Both these works are now imperfect.

Tacitus and Plinie the Younger lived together in intimate friendship. They (f) revised each others writings before publication: Divers of Plinie's letters are writ to him, in particular, those (g) two, wherein Plinie gives an account of the eruption of Vesuvius, and the death of his uncle. They were sent as memoirs, to be inserted by Tacitus in his Histories.

It is allowed, that (h) Tacitus flourished in the first centurie. I therefore

(e) Laudatus est a consule Cornelio Tacito. Nam hic supremus felicitati ejus cumulus accessit, laudator eloquentissimus. &c. *Plin. l. i. ep. 2.*

(f) Librum tuum legi, et quam diligentissime potui, annotavi quae commutanda, quae eximenda arbitrarer. . . Nunc a te librum meum cum annotationibus tuis exspecto. O jucundas, o pulchras vices. *Plin. l. 7. ep. 20. Vid. et l. 8. ep. 7.*

(g) Petis, ut tibi avunculi mei exitum scribam, quo verius tradere posteris possis. Gratias ago. Nam video, morti ejus, si celebretur a te, immortalem gloriam esse propositam. *L. 6. ep. 16. Vid. et ep. 20.*

(h) Tacite . . . Historien Romain, a fleuri dans le premier siecle. *Bayle Diction.*

therefore place him here in the year 100. the third of the Emperor Trajan. And though the two last, and principal of his works, were not published, till some time after, undoubtedly, he was now employed in collecting materials for them, and in composing them. Nor did either of them come down any lower, than the death of Domitian.

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II. In his Annals, at the year of our Lord 57. he writes thus: *Pomponia Graecina*.
 “ And (i) POMPONIA GRAECINA, a Lady of eminent quality, married to *Plautius*, who upon his return from Britain had the honour of an ovation, being accused of practising a foreign superstition, was referred to the cognisance of her husband. And he, according to ancient institution, in the presence of the familie, sat in judgement upon the life and reputation of his wife, and pronounced her innocent. *Pomponia* lived to a great age, and in perpetual sorrow, after the death of Julia daughter of Drusus, procured by the intrigues of Messalina. For the space of forty years she wore no habit but that of mourning, nor admitted any sentiments, but those of grief. And this behaviour, which in the reign of Claudius escaped with impunity, afterwards redounded to her glory.”

As it was about fourteen years from the death of Julia to this trial of *Pomponia*, Lipsius (k) suspects the reading of *forty years*: and his emendation is approved by some, rejected by others. I rather think it

(i) Et Pomponia Graecina insignis femina, Plautio, qui ovans se de Britanniiis rettulit, nupta, ac superstitionis externae rea, mariti judicio permissa. Isque prisco instituto, propinquis coram, de capite famaeque conjugis cognovit, et infonem nuntiavit. Longa huic Pomponiae aetas, et continua tristitia fuit. Nam post Ju-

liam Drusi filiam dolo Messalinae interfectam, per quadraginta annos, non cultu nisi lugubri, non animo nisi maesto egit. Idque illi imperitante Claudio impune, mox ad gloriam vertit. *Tacit. Ann.* l. 13. c. 32.

(k) *Vid. Not. ad loc.*

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it to be right, as it is in all copies. Nor does Tacitus compute from the death of Julia to the time of this trial, but to the time of *Pomponia's* death. She lived, he says, to a great age. *And all the time from the death of Julia to her own death, which was the space of forty years, she was a perpetual mourner.*

This *foreign*, or extraneous *superstition*, of which *Pomponia* was accused, is supposed by Lipsius, in his (*) notes, and by (l) others to be the Christian Religion. And we may be inclined to that opinion. But we cannot be certain of it. I have transcribed the whole account of this Lady, that every one may the better judge for himself.

Nero's
Persecu-
tion of the
Christians

III. After a description of the terrible fire at Rome, in the tenth of Nero, and the 64. of our Lord, in which a large part of the City was consumed, and an account of the orders given for rebuilding and beautifying it, and the methods used to appease the anger of the gods, Tacitus adds: " But (m) neither all human help, nor the
" liberality

(*) *Superstitionis externae rea.*] Christianismi credo accusatam, sive, ut tunc confundebant, Judaismi. *Lipsius in loc.*

Fortè Christianam pietatem intelligit. Nam apparet, sanctam mulierem fuisse Pomponiam Graecinam. Tacitus loquitur ut Ethnicus. *Rhenanus in loc.*

(l) Christi doctrinam a Pomponia fuisse degustatam, non inmerito conjicimus. *Basnag. Ann. 57. p. ii.* Pomponia Graecina fuit accusée de suivre une superstition étrangère, dit Tacite: ce qui se peut entendre du Christianisme. *Tillern. Neron. art. v.*

(m) Sed non ope humana, non largitionibus Principis, aut deum placamentis

decedebat infamia, quin jussu incendium credebatur. Ergo abolendo ruinori Nero subdidit reos, et quaesitissimis poenis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus, qui Tiberio imperante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat. Repressa in praesens exitiabilis superstitione rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judaeam, originem ejus mali, sed per Urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrociora aut pudenda confluent, celebranturque. Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens, haud perinde in crimine incendii, quam odio humani generis

“ liberality of the Emperour, nor all the atonements presented to
 “ the gods, availed to abate the infamie he lay under of having or-
 “ dered the City to be set on fire. To suppress therefore this com-
 “ mon rumour, Nero procured others to be accused, and inflicted
 “ exquisite punishments upon those people, who were in abhorrence
 “ for their crimes, and were commonly known by the name of
 “ Christians. They had their denomination from CHRISTUS, who
 “ in the reign of *Tiberius* was put to death as a criminal by the Pro-
 “ curator *Pontius Pilate*. This pernicious superstition, though
 “ checked for a while, broke out again, and spread not only over
 “ Judea, the source of this evil, but reached the City also: whither
 “ flow from all quarters all things vile and shameful, and where
 “ they find shelter and encouragement. At first they only were
 “ apprehended, who confessed themselves of that sect: afterwards a
 “ vast multitude, discovered by them. All which were condemned,
 “ not so much for the crime of burning the City, as for their en-
 “ mity to mankind. Their executions were so contrived, as to ex-
 “ pose them to derision and contempt. Some were covered over
 “ with the skins of wild beasts, and torn to pieces by dogs. Some
 “ were crucified. Others, having been daubed over with combus-
 “ tible materials, were set up as lights in the night-time, and thus
 “ burned to death. Nero made use of his own gardens as a theatre
 “ upon this occasion, and also exhibited the diversions of the Cir-
 “ cus, sometimes standing in the crowd, as a spectator, in the habit
 “ of a charioteer, at other times driving a chariot himself. Till at
 “ length these men, though really criminal, and deserving exempla-

neris convicti sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut fetarum tergis contexti, laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammandi, atque ubi defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hortos suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et Cirsense ludicrum edebat, habitu aurigae

permixtus plebi vel circulo [curriculo legit Lipsius] insistens. Unde quamquam adversus fontes, et novissima exempla meritos, miseratio oriebatur, tanquam non utilitate publica, sed in saevitiam unius absumerentur. *Ann. l. xv. c. 44.*

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“rie punishment, began to be commiserated, as people who were
“destroyed, not out of a regard to the public welfare, but only to
“gratify the cruelty of one man.”

Divers facts of the evangelical historie are here attested : That our Saviour was put to death as a malefactor by *Pontius Pilate*, Procurator under *Tiberius* : That from *Christ* the people, called Christians, had their name and sentiments : That this superstition, or religion, had it's rise in Judea, where also it spread, notwithstanding the ignominious death of the founder of it, and the opposition, which his followers met with from the people of that countrey afterwards : that thence it was propagated into other parts of the world, and as far as Rome : where in the tenth, or eleventh year of Nero, and before, Christians were very numerous : and that the professors of this religion were reproached, and hated, and underwent many and grievous sufferings. Certainly, the great number of Christians at Rome, at this time, and their sufferings, are two things very observable.

And though they were so hated, and Tacitus himself is so much offended with them ; he owns, the cruelty, with which they were treated, was so excessive, as to excite compassion. Nay, it seems, their destruction was looked upon by many, not as a public benefit, but an act of savage cruelty. Which shews, after all, that they were not such monsters of wickedness, as they are here represented.

And all this guilt, this enmity to mankind, which Tacitus imputes to them, could be nothing else, as has been well observed (o) by

(o) Tacitus libro xv. . . de Christianorum suppliciis. . . Ubi flagitia, et odium humani generis, nihil aliud sunt, quam falsorum deorum neglectus. Quam eandem causam etiam Judæis maledicendi Tacitus

habet, et Plinius major, cui Judæi dicuntur gens contumelia numinum insignis. Cleric. Annot. ad Grat. de Ver. Rel. Christian. l. 2. §. ii.

by learned men, but their neglect of the ordinarie worship of the gods. A. D. 100.

It will not be disagreeable to compare this article of *Tacitus*, with the account of the fire at Rome, and the ensuing persecution of the Christians, which is given by *Sulpicius Severus*, an elegant Christian writer of historie, and in the Latin tongue, who flourished about the year 400.

“ In (*) the mean time, says Sulpicius, when the number of
 “ the Christians was greatly encreased, there happened a fire at Rome,
 “ whilst Nero was at Antium. Nevertheless the general opinion of
 “ all men cast the blame of the fire upon the Emperour. And it
 “ was supposed, that his aim therein was, that he might have the
 “ glorie of raising the city again in greater splendour. Nor could he
 “ by any means suppress the common rumour, that the fire was
 “ owing to his orders. He therefore endeavored to cast the reproach
 “ of it upon the Christians. And exquisite tortures were inflicted
 “ upon innocent men. And moreover new kinds of death were in-
 “ vented. Some were tied up in the skins of wild-beasts, that they
 “ might be worried to death by dogs. Many were crucified. Others
 “ were burnt to death. And they were set up as lights in the night-
 Y y 2 “ time.

(*) Interea, abundante jam Christianorum multitudine, accidit, ut Roma incendio conflagraret, Nerone aequo Antium constituto. Sed opinio omnium invidiam incendii in Principem retorquebat, credebaturque Imperator gloriam innovandae urbis quaesivisse. Neque ulla re Nero efficiebat, quin ab eo iustum incendium putaretur. Igitur vertit invidiam in Christianos, actaque in innoxios crudelissimae quaestiones. Quin et novae mortes excogitatae, ut ferarum tergis contexti, lan-

tu canum interirent. Multi crucibus affixi, aut flammâ usti. Plerique in id reservati, ut cum defecisset dies, in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hoc initio in Christianos saeviri coeptum. Post etiam, datis legibus religio vetabatur: palamque edictis propositis, Christianum esse non licebat. Tum Paulus ac Petrus capitis damnati: quorum uni cervix gladio detecta, Petrus in crucem sublatus est. *Sulp. Sever. Sac. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 41. al. cap. 29.*

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100.

“ time. This was the begining of the persecution of the Christians.
“ Afterwards the profession of the Christian Religion was prohibited
“ by laws: and edicts were published, that no man might be a
“ Christian. At that time Paul and Peter were condemned to death.
“ The former was beheaded, Peter was crucified.”

So writes Sulpicius. It is not unlikely, that he had read Tacitus. However, I think, it ought also to be supposed, that he had other Memoirs besides.

Sulpicius says, that Nero was at Antium, when the fire began. The (††) same thing is observed by Tacitus, who also says, that Nero did not come to Rome, till the fire had approached his own palace, which at length with every thing near it was consumed.

*Of the
Destruc-
tion of
Jerusa-
lem by
Titus.*

IV. It is not needful for me to translate, or transcribe all that Tacitus says of the Jewish people, of (*p*) whose original he was ignorant, and writes very absurdly, and therefore is called by Tertullian (*q*) a great liar. Nor need I translate exactly his historie of the Jewish war. I observe however these following particulars.

He says, that (*r*) Judea was first brought into subjection to the Romans by Pompey. After which he gives a summarie account of their affairs under *Herod*, and his sons, the Emperours *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Nero*. “ He mentions (*s*) *Felix*, whom
“ he

†† Eo in tempore Nero Antii agens, non ante in Urbem regressus est, quam domui ejus, quâ palatium et maecenatis hortos continuaverat, ignis propinquaret. Neque tamen sisti potuit, quin et palatium et domus et cuncta circum haurirentur. *Tacit. Ann. l. 15. cap. 39.*

(*p*) *Tacit. Hist. l. v. cap. 2.*

(*q*) Cornelius Tacitus, sane ille men-

daciorum loquacissimus. *Apol. cap. 16. p. 17. A.*

(*r*) Romanorum primus Cn. Pompejus Judaeos domuit, templumque jure victoriae ingressus est. *H. l. v. cap. 9.*

(*s*) Claudius defunctis regibus, aut ad modicum reductis, Judaeam provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permisit, e quibus Antonius Felix, per omnem saevi-
tiam

“ he represents as a bad man, and tyrannical in his government.

“ However, the Jews, he says, bore the exactions of their Gover-

“ nours

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tiam ac libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit. . . Duravit tamen patientia Judaeis, usque ad Gessium Florum procuratorem. Sub eo bellum ortum, et comprimere coeptantem Cestium Gallum Syriae legatum, varia proelia ac saepius adversa excepere. Qui ubi fato aut taedio occidit, missu Neronis, Vespasianus fortuna famaue et egregiis ministris intra duas aestates cuncta camporum, omnesque praeter Hierosolyma urbes, victore exercitu tenebat. Proximus annus civili bello intentus, quantum ad Judaeos per otium transit. Pace per Italiam parta, et externae curae redire. Augebat iras, quod soli Judaei non cessissent. Simul manere apud exercitus Titum ad omnes principatus novi eventus casusve utilius videbatur. [Ejusdem anni principio Caesar Titus perdomandae Judaeae delectus a patre. [*Lib. v. cap. i. in.*] Igitur castris, uti diximus, ante moenia Hierosolymorum positus, instructas legiones ostendit. Judaei sub ipsos muros struxere aciem. . . Mox cessere hostes, et sequentibus diebus crebra pro portis praelia ferebant, donec assiduis damnis, intra moenia pellerentur. Romani ad oppugnandum versi. Neque dignum videbatur, famem hostium opperiri. Poscebant, quae pericula, pars virtute, multi ferocia, et cupidine praemiorum. Ipsi Titum Roma, et opes, voluptatesque ante oculos: ac ni statim Hierosolyma conciderent, morari videbantur. Sed urbem arduam situ, opera moleque firmaverant, quis vel plana satis munirentur. Nam duos colles immensum editos claudebant

muri per artem obliqui, aut introrsus sinuati. [Conf. l. 2. cap. 4] . . . Alia intus moenia, regiae circumjecta. Conspicuaeque fastigio turris Antonia, in honorem M. Antonii ab Herode appellata. Templum in modum arcis, propriique muri, labore et opere ante alios. Ipsae porticus, quis templum ambiebatur, egregium propugnaculum. Fons perennis aquae, cavati sub terra montes, et piscinae cisternaeque servandis imbribus. . . magna colluvie, et ceterarum urbium clade avesti. Nam pervicacissimus quisque illuc perfugerat, eoque seditiosius agebant. Tres duces, totidem exercitus. Extrema et latissima moenium Simon. Mediam urbem Joannes, quem et Bargioram vocabant. templum Eleazarus firmaverat. Multitudine et armis Joannes ac Simon, Eleazarus loco pollebat. Sed proelia, dolus, incendia, inter ipsos, et magna vis frumenti ambusta. Mox Joannes, missis per speciem sacrificandi, qui Eleazarum manumque ejus obtruncarent, templo potitur. Ita in duas factiones civitas discessit, donec propinquantibus Romanis, bellum externum concordiam pareret. Evenerant prodigia, quae neque hostiis, neque votis piare fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa. Visae per coelum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma, et subito nubium igne collucere templum. Expasae repente delubri fores, et audita major humana vox, *Excedere deos*: simul ingens motus excedentium. Quae pauci in metum trahebant: pluribus persuasoinerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis, con-

tigari,

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“nours, till the time of their Procurator *Gessius Florus*, under whom
 “the war began. *Cestius Gallus*, President of Syria, came to his
 “assistance. But he being defeated, Nero sent *Vespasian* into Ju-
 “dea, who was a General of great merit and reputation, and hav-
 “ing also under him good officers, in the space of two years, [*mean-*
 “*ing the years 67. and 68.*] he reduced the open countrey, and all
 “the cities of Judea, excepting Jerusalem. The next year [69.]
 “was taken up in civil wars. [*meaning the time of the short reigns*
 “*of Galba, Otbo, Vitellius, till the accession of Vespasian.*] The fol-
 “lowing year, [and the beginning of it,] *Titus* was appointed to at-
 “tend the affairs of Judea. Who now drew near to Jerusalem, and
 “besieged it. *Tacitus* supposeth, that *Titus* was in haste to go to
 “Rome, to enjoy the pleasures and splendour of the City. He there-
 “fore carried on the siege with the greatest vigour. The armie
 “likewise was intent upon plunder, and eager to gratify their revenge.
 “The city however was strong by situation, and with good walls
 “and ramparts. The high tower *Antonia*, conspicuous from far.
 “The temple itself was like a citadel, well fortified. They had a
 “fountain of water that ran continually, and the mountains were
 “hollowed under ground. Moreover they had pools and cisterns
 “for preserving rain-water. And there was a great confluence of
 “people. For the men of the other cities that had been redu-
 “ced, and in general all the turbulent and seditious people of the
 “nation;

tineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret
 Oriens, profectique Judacâ rerum poti-
 rentur. Quae ambages Vespasianum ac
 Titum praedixerant. Sed vulgus, more
 humanae cupidinis sibi tantam factorum
 magnitudinem interpretati, ne adversis
 quidem ad vera mutabantur. Multitudi-
 nem obsessorum, omnis aetatis, virile ac
 muliebre sexus, sexcenta millia fuisse ac-
 cepimus. Arma cunctis, qui ferre pos-
 sent; et plures quam pro numero aude-

bant. Obstinatio viris feminisque par.
 Ac si transferre sedes cogerentur, major
 vitae metus quam mortis. Hanc adver-
 sus urbem gentemque Caesar Titus, quan-
 do impetus et subita belli locus abnucret,
 aggeribus vineisque certare statuit. Di-
 viduntur legionibus munia, et quies prac-
 liorum fuit: donec cuncta expugnandis
 urbibus reperta apud veteres, aut novis
 ingeniis, struerentur. *Tacit. Hist. lib. v.
 cap. 9. . . . 13.*

Ch. V. *His Testimonie to the Destruction of Jerusalem.*

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“ nation, came hither. There were three captains, [or heads of
 “ factions,] and as many armies, *Simon*, *John*, called also *Bargioras*,
 “ and *Eleazar*, who occupied several parts of the city. Among
 “ themselves they had fierce contentions, and therein great quantities
 “ of provisions were consumed. *Eleazar* being killed, they were
 “ reduced to two factions. These fought with each other, till the
 “ near approach of the Romans obliged them to agreement. There
 “ were many prodigies, foreshadowing their ruin, which were not to
 “ be averted by all the sacrifices and vows of that people, supersti-
 “ tious in their own way of worship, though different from all o-
 “ thers. Armies were seen fighting in the air, with brandished wea-
 “ pons. A fire fell upon the temple from the clouds. The doors
 “ of the temple were suddenly opened. At the same time there
 “ was a loud voice, declaring, that the gods were removing. Which
 “ was accompanied with the sound as of a multitude going out.
 “ All which things were supposed by some to portend great cala-
 “ mities. But the most had a strong persuasion, that it was said in
 “ the ancient writings of the Priests [*that is, ancient writings in the*
 “ *custodie of the Priests,*] that at that very time the East should pre-
 “ vail, and that some who came from Judea should obtain the em-
 “ pire of the world. Which ambiguities foretold *Vespasian* and
 “ *Titus*. But the common people, according to the usual influence
 “ of human passions, having once appropriated to themselves this
 “ vast grandeur of the fates, could not be brought to understand the
 “ true meaning by all their adversities. We have been assured, that
 “ the number of the besieged amounted to six hundred thousand. And
 “ more bore arms than could have been expected from that number.
 “ For great was the resolution of all, both men and women. Against
 “ this city and people was *Titus* sent. As the city could not be ta-
 “ ken by assault, different posts were assigned to the several legions.
 “ Battering engines of all kinds were prepared. And all the me-
 “ thods hitherto practised in sieges by the ancients, as well as new
 “ inventions, were employed on this occasion.”

So

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So writes Tacitus, who could and might have been more particular in his historie of the Jewish War in the several parts of that countrey, and likewise of the siege of Jerusalem. But his dislike of the subject, as it seems, and his love of brevity, have made him very concise.

However, it is not unlikely that in the next book, which, with all the following books of that work, is lost, there was an account of the triumph of Vespasian and Titus at Rome in the following year. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose, that there were also some more particulars concerning the event of the siege of Jerusalem. But what they were, we cannot now say.

It is also worth our while to observe, that in this fifth book of his Historie, from which the preceding article has been taken, at his entrance upon his account of the war, he says, “ he (t) was going to relate the final end of the renowned city of Jerusalem.”

He likewise takes notice, “ That (u) Jerusalem was the capital city of Judea, and that the temple there had in it immense riches.”

Nor should we omit to observe, that in the first chapter of this book he has reckoned up the forces, with which Vespasian was furnished for carrying on this war, and not very disagreeably to Josephus. “ For (x) he mentions the three Legions quartered in Judea,
“ dea,

(t) Sed quia famosae urbis supremum diem tradituri sumus. &c. *Histor. l. 5. cap. 2. in.*

(u) Magna pars Judaeae vicis dispergitur. Habent et oppida. Hierosolyma genti caput : Illic immensae opulentiae templum. &c. *Ibid. cap. 8.*

(x) Eiusdem anni principio, Caesar Titus perdonandae Judaeae delectus a patre. . . . Tres enim in Judaea legiones, quinta et decima, et quintadecima, vetus Vespasiani miles exceperere. Tradidit et Syria duodecimam, et adductos Alexandria duo et vicesimanos tertianosque. Comitabantur,

“ dea, the twelfth brought in from Syria, and other legions from
 “ Alexandria, beside the armies of the Roman allies, the kings *A-*
 “ *grippa*, *Sohemus*, and *Antiochus*, and a large body of Arabians, al-
 “ ways averse to the Jews, and some volunteers of distinction even
 “ from Rome and Italie, who were willing to serve under *Titus*, a
 “ General of such renown, and expectation, desirous to signalize
 “ their valour before him, and thereby to recommend themselves to
 “ his favour.”

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And though we do not find in Tacitus every thing that we might wish for; certainly what we have in his remaining works is a very valuable testimonie to the accomplishment of our Lord's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people.

He must have read Josephus. Many things are evidently taken from him. However he differs from him sometimes. It is somewhat strange, that he should not compute a greater number within Jerusalem at the time of the siege, than *six hundred thousand*. How shall we account for this? I answer, that perhaps Tacitus had met with some other accounts of the Jewish War, beside that of Josephus. And I am apt to think it not unreasonable to believe, that Tacitus never read Josephus with so much care and diligence, as we Christians have since read him. Moreover, *six hundred thousand* may be a certain number, used for an uncertain, denoting, that the city was then very full of people, and not intending to say, there were no more.

mitabantur viginti sociæ cohortes, octo equitum alæ. Simul Agrippa, Sohemus-
 que reges, et auxilia regis Antiochi, valida-
 que et solito inter accolæ odio infensa Ju-
 dæis Arabum manus. Multi, quos Ur-
 be atque Italiâ suâ quemque spes accive-

rat occupandi Principem adhuc vacuum:
 His cum copiis fines hostium ingressus,
 composito agmine, cuncta explorans, pa-
 ratusque decernere, haud procul Hieroso-
 lymis castra facit. *Tacit. Hist. l. 5.*
cap. i.

C H A P. VI.

M A R T I A L.

I. *His Time, and Writings.* II. *His Testimonie to the Fortitude of Christians.*

A. D. I. **M**ARTIAL, (*a*) or *M. Valerius Martialis*, author of
 100. fourteen books of Epigrams, was born at Bilbilis in Spain,
His Time, and Writings. in the reign of Claudius. He is supposed to have come to Rome in
 the reign of Nero, when he was about twenty years of age, and to
 have lived there thirty years, beloved by the Emperours, especially
 Domitian, after whose death he retired into his own countrey. As
 he lived long enough to (*b*) write some Epigrams in commendation
 of Nerva and Trajan, I have placed him so low as the last year of
 the first centurie, and (*c*) the third of Trajan. He was intimate
 with Juvenal, and well acquainted with Plinie the Younger. Mar-
 tial

(*a*) *Vid. Voss. de Poet. Lat. Tillemont H. E. Domitien. art. 23.*

(*b*) *Vid. L. 12. Epigr. v. . . ix. L. xi. 4. 5. x. 34.*

(*c*) . . . Domitiani, Nervae, et Traja-

ni, tempora ingenio suo illustravit. Sen-
 nex autem, Urbe relicta, patriam suam
 repetens, in illa obiit sub eodem Trajano.
*Fabric. Bib. Lat. l. 2. c. 20. De M. V.
 Martiali.*

tial was poor. When (*d*) he left Rome, Plinie made him a handsome present. And when he heard of his death, he lamented it very affectionately.

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II. This writer has been supposed to refer to the patient fortitude of Christians, in voluntarily enduring the greatest pains, rather than sacrifice to the gods, or do any thing contrarie to the principles of their religion.

His Testimonie to Christian Fortitude.

“ You (*e*) have, perhaps, lately seen acted in the theatre
“ Mucius, who thrust his hand into the fire. If you think such an
“ one patient, valiant, stout, you are a mere senseless dotard. For
“ it is a much greater thing, when threatened with the troublesome
“ coat, to say, I do not sacrifice, than to obey the command, Burn
“ the hand.”

However, the two last verses of the epigram may be otherwise rendered, after this manner: “ For it is a much greater thing, when
“ threatened with the troublesome coat, you are commanded to
“ burn your hand, to say: I will not.”

But I can see no reason for bringing in the *troublesome coat*, to oblige a man to act the part of *Mucius* in the theatre. And I much rather incline to the sense given in the first translation.

Z z 2

I shall

(*d*) Audio, Valerium Martialem decessisse. Et moleste fero. Erat homo ingeniosus, acutus, acer, et qui plurimum in scribendo et falis haberet et fellis, nec candoris minus. Prosequutus eram cum viatico discedentem. Dederam hoc amicitiae: dederam etiam versiculis, quos de me composuit. *Plin. Lib. 3. Ep. 21.*

(*e*) In matutina nuper spectatus arena
Mucius, imposuit qui sua membra focus,
Si patiens fortisque tibi durusque videtur,
Abderitanae pectora plebis habes.
Nam cum dicatur, tunicâ praesente molestâ,
Ure manum, plus est dicere: Non facio.

Martial. l. x. Epigr. 25.

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I shall therefore place below the remarks (*f*) of *Stephen Le Moyne* upon this epigram, who makes no doubt, that *Martial* refers to the Christians, and declares, that what *Mucius* did, is not comparable to the resolution of Christians under the sufferings, which they endured.

The *troublesome coat*, or shirt, here mentioned, a cruelty, which, as we have before learned from *Tacitus*, the innocent Christians unjustly suffered, was made like a sack, of paper, or coarse linen cloth. And having been first besmeared within and without, with pitch, wax, rosin, sulphur, and such like combustible materials, or dipt all over in them, was put upon the person, for whom it was appointed. And that he might be kept upright, the more to resemble a flaming torch, his chin was fastened to a stake fixed in the ground.

That this was esteemed a cruel death, is manifest from *Seneca*, who describing the greatest causes of fear, writes to this purpose. "Imagine (*g*) here, says he, a prison, crosses, and racks, and "the hook, and a stake, thrust through the body, and coming
" out

(*f*) *Facinus Mucii, non videtur, inquit Martialis, cum fortitudine Christianorum comparandum. Ille ustulandam manum suam flammis exhibuit, ut ista constantia reliquum corpus suum servaret. Sed Christiani totum corpus igni vorandum tradunt, immo igni lento: et patiuntur se supervestiri cereo indumento, ut instar cereorum ardeant: quod tamen possent declinare, si vellent, et si religioni popularium suorum, et sacris Imperatoris, faciles se alligarent. Sed malunt in cineres et favillas redigi, et se vivos ardere, quam sacrificare, vel thura adolere: et cum ad id compelluntur, dicunt: Non facio, non sacrifico. . . . Et tunicae mo-*

lestae praefens et tremendum supplicium illos a sacris suis non potest avellere, vel minimum terrere. St. Le Moyne Varia. Sacra. p. 1041. 1042. Vid. et Kortholt. De Persecutionib. primit. Ec. p. 25.

(*g*) *Cogita hoc loco carcerem, et crucces, et eculeos, et uncum, et adactum per medium hominem, qui per os emergat, stipitem, et distracta in diversum actis curribus membra, illam tunicam, alimentis ignium et illitam et intextam: quicquid aliud, praeter haec, commenta saevitia est. Non est itaque mirum, si maximus hujus rei timor est, cujus et varietas magna, et apparatus terribilis est. Senec. Ep. 14.*

“ out at the mouth, and the limbs torn by chariots pulling adverse
“ ways, and that coat besmeared and interwoven with combustible
“ materials, nutriment for fire, and whatever else, beside these, cru-
“ elty has invented. It is no wonder, if in such a case fear riseth
“ high, where the variety of evils is so great, and the preparation
“ is so terrible.”

It is hence apparent, that this was one of the worst punishments, which cruelty had invented.

I do not know, but some may think, I ought to have quoted this passage of *Seneca*, not only as a description of this coat, and the cruelty of it, but also as an allusion to the sufferings of the Christians, who felt it in so great numbers. For *Seneca's* death happened not (*b*) before April in the year 65. Whereas the fire at Rome began in July the preceding year, and the persecution of the Christians (*i*) commenced in November following. But, in my opinion, it is better not to insist upon any reference here to the sufferings of the Christians.

(*b*) See *Tillemont. Neron. ort. xxii.*

(*i*) See the *Supplement to the Credibility, &c. ch. xi. vol. 2 p. 139.*



C H A P. VII.

J U V E N A L.

- I. *His Time and Writings.* II. *His Testimonie to Nero's Persecution of the Christians.* III. *His Testimonie to Domitian's Persecution.* IV. *An Observation concerning Seneca, the Philosopher.*

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*His Time,
and Writings.*

I. **D**ECIMUS JUNIUS JUVENALIS (a) or JUVENAL, author of sixteen Satyrs, which we still have, is computed to have flourished in the reigns of Domitian, Nerva, Trajan and Adrian. And as *Lipsius* well says, he (b) was contemporarie with *Plinie the Younger*, *Tacitus*, and others of that age. Nevertheless we do not find *Juvenal* at all mentioned in any of the letters of *Plinie*, now extant. I place him next to his friend *Martial*, and in the same year, the last of the first centurie of the Christian epoch.

II. He

(a) *Vid. Lips. Epist. Qu. l. 4. Ep. 20. Fabr. Bib. Lat. l. 2. cap. 18. Tillem. H. E. Domitien. art. 24.*

(b) Ergo, meo arbitrio, compar *Juvenalis Plinio juniori, Tacito, et illi classis fuit. Lips. l. c.*

II. He seems to refer to Nero's persecution of the Christians in some lines (c) of his first Satyr, which are thus translated by Mr. Dryden.

A. D.
100.

His Testimonie to Nero's Persecution.

*But if that honest licence now you take :
If into rogues omnipotent you rake :
Death is your doom, impaled upon a stake,
Smear'd o're with wax, and set on fire, to light
The Streets, and make a dreadful blaze by night.*

Or, more literally. "Describe a great villain, such as was Tigellinus : (*a corrupt Minister under Nero* :) and you shall suffer the same punishment with those, who stand burning in their own flame and smoak, their head being held up by a stake fixed to their chin, till they make a long stream (*of blood and running sulphur*) on the ground."

It (d) is the opinion of *Joseph Scaliger*, and many other learned men, that Nero's cruelties to the Christians are here intended. And, that some punishments of men accused of magick in the reign of Nero, are here referred to, is affirmed by an (e) ancient Scholiast upon this place of Juvenal. Who (f) likewise speaks of them as exhibited

(c) *Pone Tigellinum, teda lucebis in illa,
Quâ stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture fumant,
Et latum mediâ sulcum deducit arenâ.*

Juven. Sat. i. ver. 155. &c.

(d) *Scholia Juvenalis: Nero maleficos homines teda et papyro et cera supervestiebat, et sic ad ignem admoventi jubebat, ut arderent. Haec Scholastes ille in illos versus Juvenalis, qui sine dubio de Christianis dicti sunt. Jos. Scaliger. Animadv. in Euseb. Chron. p. 197. Videatur Id. De Emendat. Temp. l. v. p. 471.*

(e) *Vid. not. (d)*

(f) *Idem Scholastes: Fivus ardebis, quemadmodum in munere Neronis vivi arserunt, de quibus ille jussit cereos fieri, ut lucerent spectatoribus, quum fixa essent guttura, ne se curvarent. Id. Scalig. l. c. p. 197. Et vide annot. ad Juvenalis locum.*

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bited for a spectacle : as is particularly described by Tacitus. And Suetonius (as we shall presently see) calls the Christians, *men of a new and magical superstition*.

In another Satyr (g) Juvenal speaks of the pitched shirt, or troublesome coat, which they were covered with, who were condemned to that punishment. And I shall place below (b) a part of *Prateus's* note upon that place.

His Testimonie to Domitian's Persecution.

III. In another Satyr Juvenal speaks of the death of *Domitian* in this manner. "Many (i) illustrious men he destroyed, who found
"no avenger. At last he perished, when he became formidable to
"the rabble. This ruined him, who long before was stained with
"the noble blood of the *Lamiae*."

The verses are thus translated by Mr. *Stepny*.

*What folly this ! But oh ! that all the rest
Of his dire reign had thus been spent in jest !
And all that time such trifles had employed,
In which so many nobles he destroyed.
He safe, they unrevenged, to the disgrace
Of the surviving, tame, Patrician race.
But when he dreadful to the rabble grew,
Him, who so many Lords had slain, they slew !*

Aelius

(g) *Ausi quod liceat tunicâ punire molestâ.*

Sat. 8. lin. 235.

(b) *Vestis erat e chartâ, cannabe, stup-
pâ. Illinebatur bitumine, resinâ, pice.
Tum circumdabatur iis, qui grave quid-*

*piam, et maxime, incendia moliti fuerant.
Quâ demum incensâ vivi comburebantur.
Annot. in loc. ed. in usum Delphini.*

(i) *Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
Tempora sevitiae, claras quibus abstulit Urbi
Illustresque animas impune, et vindice nullo.
Sed periit, postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
Caeperat. Hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti.*

Sat. iv. ad fin.

Aelius Lamia, whose death is likewise particularly mentioned by Suetonius (*k*) undoubtedly was a man of a very ancient and noble familie. And Domitian had killed many other Senators. The Christians were generally of the meaner rank of people, and more despised still for their religion, than their condition. But they were not all of the rabble, or coblers and taylors, as Juvenal would insinuate. And *Flavius Clement*, one of those, whom Domitian put to death near the end of his reign, and whose death, as Suetonius expressly says, hastened Domitian's ruin, was of the Imperial familie, and as we think, a Christian. However, it is observable, that Juvenal says, Domitian's death soon followed after some acts of cruelty toward mean people. Herein he agrees with, and confirms the accounts of some Christian writers, particularly, that of *Cæcilius*, or *Lactantius*, in his book of the deaths of Persecutors. Who observes, "that (*l*) Domitian had been long permitted to exercise great cruelties upon his subjects: But when he began to persecute the servants of God, he was soon delivered up into the hands of his enemies."

IV. It may be observed, that I do not allege among witnesses to Christianity, or the affairs of Christians, the Philosopher, *L. A. Seneca*. There is extant a correspondence between him and *St. Paul*, in fourteen Letters. Which may be seen, in Latin, in (*m*) *Fabri-*

*An Ad-
vertise-
ment con-
cerning
Seneca.*

(*k*) *Sueton. Domit. cap. x.*

(*l*) Post hunc, [Neronem] interjectis aliquot annis, alter, [Domitianus.] non minor tyrannus orsus est: qui cum exerceret invisam dominationem, subjectorum tamen cervicibus incubavit quam durissime, tutusque regnavit, donec impias manus adversus Dominum tenderet. Post-

quam vero ad persequendum justum populum instinctu daemonum incitatus est, tunc traditus in manus inmicorum luit poenas. *Caec. al. Lact. De M. P. cap. 3.*

(*m*) *Cod. Apocr. N. T. Tom. 2. p. 88c. &c. Conf. ejusd. Bibl. Lat. Tom. i. p. 367.*

A. D.
100.

cius, and in Latin and English, in Mr. (n) *Jones*, with remarks. They were in being in St. Jerome's time, and Seneca therefore is mentioned by him (o) in his catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers. But they are manifestly spurious, and of no value. And therefore are not entitled to a place here. Nor do they deserve any regard.

I have put this advertisement here, at the end of the chapter of *Juvenal*, because he is the last author of the first centurie, who is alleged by me.

(n) See him of the Canon of the N. T. Vol. 2. ch. x. p. 80. &c.

(o) Lucius Annaeus Seneca Cordubensis, Sotionis Stoici discipulus, et patruus Lucani poetae, continentissimae vitae fuit. Quem non ponerem in Catalogo Sanctorum, nisi me illae Epistolae provocarent, quae leguntur a plurimis, Pauli ad

Senecam, et Senecae ad Paulum. In quibus, cum esset Neronis magister, et illius temporis potentissimus, optare se dicit, ejus esse loci apud suos, cujus sit Paulus apud Christianos. Hic ante biennium, quam Petrus et Paulus coronarentur martyrio, a Nerone interfectus est. Hieron. De V. I. cap. xii.



C H A P. VIII.

S U E T O N I U S.

- I. *His Historie, Time, and Works.* II. *The Jews expelled from Rome in the Reign of Claudius.* III. *His Account of Nero's Persecution.* IV. *His Testimonie to the Jewish War, and the Overthrow of the Jewish People.* V. *Of Domitian's Persecution of the Christians.* VI. *The Sum of his Testimonie.*

I. **C**AIUS SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS (a) son of Suetonius Lenis, (b) flourished in the reigns of Trajan and Adrian, to the later of whom he was Secretarie. Which (c) place he lost about the year 121. Plinie the Younger had a particular friendship for him. Several of Pliny's letters still extant, are writ to him.

A. D.
110.
His Historie.

A a a 2

And

(a) *Vid. Voss. de Hist. Lat. l. i. cap. 26. Bayle Dict. Hist. et Crit. Suetone. Tillet. H. Emp. Adrien. art. 24.*

(b) *Interfuit huic bello pater meus Suetonius Lenis, tertiae decimae legionis tribunus angusticlavus. Sueton. Othon. cap. x.*

(c) *Septicio Claro, Praefecto Praetorii, et Suetonio Tranquillo, epistolarum magistro, multisque aliis, qui apud Sabinam uxorem, injussu ejus, familiaris se tunc egerant, quam reverentia domus aulicae postulabat, successores dedit. . . Spartian. in Adrian. cap. xi.*

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And he performed for him divers good offices. *Suetonius* having no children by his wife, *Plinie* procured for him from *Trajan* *jus trium liberorum*, or the privilege of those, who have three children. His recommendation of him to the Emperour is very affectionate, and exhibits a very amiable (*d*) character.

That he was born about the begining of the reign of *Vespasian*, is argued hence, that (*e*) about twenty years after the death of *Nero*, or in 88. he speaks of himself as a young man. It may be supposed therefore, that in the 13. of *Trajan*, or the year of our Lord 110. he was not less than forty years of age.

He was the author of a good number of books, of which there are now none remaining, but his *Lives of the first twelve Cæsars*, and a part of a Work concerning *Illustrious Grammarians and Rhetoricians*.

*The Jews
banished
from
Rome in
the Reign
of Clau-
dius.*

II. *Suetonius*, in the Life of the Emperour *Claudius*, who reigned from the year 41. to 54. says of him: "He (*f*) banished the "Jews from Rome, who were continually making disturbances, "Chrestus being their leader."

This passage undoubtedly confirms what is said *Acts xviii. 2.* that *Claudius* had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome (*g*). Some learned men are not satisfied, that this relates to the Christians. But it is well known, that our Saviour was sometimes called (*b*) *Chrestus* by

(*d*) *Suetonium* *Tranquillum*, probissimum, honestissimum, eruditissimum virum, et mores ejus secutus et studia, jampridem, Domine, in contubernium assumpsi. &c. *Plin. l. x. ep. 95.*

(*e*) Denique cum post viginti annos, adolescente me, exstisset conditionis incertae, qui se *Neronem* esse jactaret, &c. *Sueton. in Neron. cap. ult.*

(*f*) *Judaeos* impulsore *Chresto* assidue tumultuantes *Româ* expulit. *Claud. cap. 25.*

(*g*) See the Credibility, &c. *P. i. B. i. ch. xi. sect. 3.*

(*b*) . . . *Perperam* *Chrestianus* pronunciatum a vobis, &c. *Tertull. Ap. c. 3.* Sed exponenda hujus nominis ratio est, propter

ter

Ch. VIII. *Of the Expulsion of the Jews from Rome.*

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by Heathen people. And it is not impossible, that the Jewish enmity against those of their own countrey, or others, who had embraced Christianity, might produce some disputes and disturbances, which came to the Emperour's knowledge. This seems to be the meaning of Suetonius, "that there were disturbances among the Jews and others at Rome upon occasion of Christ, and his followers."

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If this passage were clear, we should have a testimonie from an Heathen author of good note, that there were Christians at Rome before the end of the reign of Claudius: as indeed we know there were, from an authentic writer of our own. Acts xviii 2. and 26. And compare Rom. xvi. And though it should not be reckoned clear and decisive, it has such an appearance of probability, as has satisfied many learned men of good (*i*) judgement.

This passage of Suetonius is expressly cited by (*k*) Orosius, a Christian

ter ignorantium errorem, qui cum immutata litera Chrestum solent dicere. *Laet. Divin. Inst. l. 4. c. 7.*

(*i*) Cum dixi supra, sub Judaeorum nomine comprehensos Christianos, id dixi quod complures ante me, multo me eruditiores. Neque tamen id impedit quominus durior fuerit conditio Christianorum, ut etiam in Judaica religione multum novantium, pluresque homines a paganismo abducentium. Quo spectat illud Suetonii de Claudio, *Judacos, impulsore Chresto*, (id est, per Christianum dogma,) *assidue tumultuantes, Romam expulit.* &c. Grot. App. ad Comm. de Antichristo. p. 499. Vid. et Cellarii *Diff. de primo principe Christiano.* § viii. et *Basnag. Ann.* 51.

num. 68. *Cleric. H. E. ann.* 29. n. xc. *Heumanni Diff. de Chresto Suetonii ap. Dissertation. Syll. T. i. p. 536.* &c. *Kortbolt. De Persecut. Ecc.* p. 4. *Tob. Eckhard. non Christianorum Testimonia. cap. i. S. Havercamp. annot. ad Tertullian. Apol. cap. 3. p. 42.*

(*k*) Sed me magis Suetonius movet, qui ait hoc modo. *Claudius Judaeos, impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes, Romam expulit.* Quod utrum contra Christum tumultuantes Judaeos coerceri et comprimi jussit, an etiam Christianos simul, velut cognatae religionis homines, voluerit expelli, nequaquam discernitur. *Oros. Hist. l. 7. cap. 6.*

A. D. 110. stian Historian, of the fifth centurie. But he was not clear about the meaning of it.

Nero's
Persecu-
tion of the
Christians

III. In the Life of Nero, whose reign began in 54. and ended in 68. Suetonius says: "the (*l*) Christians were punished, a sort of "men of a new and magical superstition."

Suetonius here assures us, that the Christian Religion was lately arisen, and that it had already gained footing in the Empire. From his calling it *a magical superstition*, it may be argued, that (*m*) there were some things of an extraordinarie nature performed by the Christians: or that they endeavored to justify their embracing the religion of Christ, as of divine original, upon the ground of some wonderfull works, which bore testimonie to it's truth and authority.

I have translated, the word *Malefica*, used by Suetonius, *magical*, agreeably to the judgement of divers learned men. But Mr. Mosheim (*) thinks the word to be equivalent to *exitiabilis*, in Tacitus, meaning *pernicious*. The Christians were singular in their religious

(*l*) Afflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum, superstitionis novae et maleficae. *Sueton. Nero. cap. 16.*

(*m*) *Maleficos* incantatores, magicis rebus studentes, venenarios, interpretatur Barth. Adv. viii. 17. x. 6. 45. 57. . Pro talibus Christianos habuerunt deterrimis Gentiles, forte quia daemonia illis parebant, et ad illorum contestationem ejiciebantur. . . . Exinde capiendum putat Barthius, Luc. vi. 22. Καὶ ἐκβάλλωσι τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς ποιῶν. Nec mirum. Hoc enim genere *maleficii* D. Jesum calumniabantur Gentilium accusationes. Arnob. p. 25. *Occursurus forsan, rursus est cum aliis multis calumniis illis, et puerilibus vocibus: Magus fuit, clandestinis artibus omnia illa perfecit.* Sed D. Jesu causam

fatis accurate ibid. agit Arnobius. *Pitiscus ad Suetonii locum.*

(*) Neque Romanam solum, sed omnium etiam aliarum gentium religiones Christiani hostiliter invadebant: ex quo Romani concludebant, sectam Christianam non modo praeter omnem modum arrogantem, verum paci ac tranquillitati publicae inimicam, et ad bella civilia cienda aptam esse. Hoc illud est, si recte conjicio, quod Tacitus Christianis exprobat, *odrum generis humani*. Nec aliunde rationem putem duci debere, cur idem Christianorum religionem, *superstitionem exitiabilem*, Suetonius autem *maleficam* nomet. *Mosheim. Instit. H. E. p. 33. 34.*

gious sentiment, and opposed the religions of all nations. The Romans therefore considered them, he thinks, as *enemies to all mankind*, and disposed to disturb the public peace.

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In the word *new*, undoubtedly, there is a sting. For as Tacitus says of the Jews, "Whatever (*n*) might be the origin of their religion, it has the advantage of antiquity."

That the Christians were roughly handled in the reign of Nero, we have seen from Tacitus, a contemporarie writer. Nevertheless it has been observed by some learned men, that (*o*) Suetonius does not say, particularly, that they were *punished at Rome*, or for setting fire to the City. His expressions are general, and may include more extensive sufferings in the *provinces*, as well as the City. Of which we have good assurance (*p*) from divers ancient Christian writers.

Once more. It may be observed, that *Suetonius* speaks with approbation of the sufferings, which the Christians endured in this reign. * For (*q*) they are mentioned together with divers other acts, ordinances, or institutions of Nero, which were entitled to some commendation : as (*r*) any one will allow, who observes the several articles in the same chapter.

IV. In

(*n*) Hi ritus, quoquo modo induci, antiquitate defenduntur. *Tacit. Hist. l. 5. cap. 5. p. 518.*

(*o*) Nec refert, quod Tacitus de iis, quae in provinciis adversus Christianos gesta sermonem non habeat, cum Suetonius de Nerone, cap. 16. persecutionem ad urbem Romam non restringat. *Pagi ann. 64. n. iv.*

Et quidem Suetonius, a Nerone *afflictos suppliciiis christianos* commemorans, nullam Romani incendii facit mentionem, sed eos *genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae* appellat. Quae cum referat Suetonius inter ea, quae a Nerone insti-

tuta fuerant, haud dubium est, quin edictum adversus Christianos ab eo tyranno scriptum fuerit. *Ruinart. Pr. in Acta Mart. n. 26. p. 32.*

(*p*) . . . ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione excruciarı imperavit. *Oros. l. 7. aap. 7.*

(*q*) Id sane ita Suetonio persuasum erat, ut inter ea, quae aliquā laude digna a Nerone sancita commemorat, ait, ab ipso fuisse *afflictos suppliciiis Christianos*. *Ruinart. lb. n. 25. p. 29.*

(*r*) Adhibitus sumtibus modus. &c. *ead. cap. 16.*

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*Of the
Jewish
War, and
the De-
solations
of Judea.*

IV. In his Life of Vespasian Suetonius writes to this purpose :
 “ When (s) Nero went into Achaia, Vespasian was one of the
 “ Court. But shewing a dislike of that Emperour’s extravagances,
 “ he lay under his displeasure, and was apprehensive of the conse-
 “ quences of his resentment. Vespasian therefore retired into a pri-
 “ vate place at some distance, where an honorable province, with a
 “ powerfull armie, was assigned him. There had been for a long
 “ time, all over the East, a prevailing opinion, that it was in the
 “ fates, [*in the decrees, or books of the fates,*] that at that time some
 “ one from Judea should obtain the empire of the world. By the
 “ event it appeared, that a Roman Emperour was meant by that
 “ prediction. The Jews applying it to themselves, went into a re-
 “ bellion. At first they had such successe, that they not only over-
 “ came their own Governour, but also defeated the Proconsular Go-
 “ vernour of Syria, who came to his assistance. There being now
 “ manifest occasion for a General of great reputation, and a nu-
 “ merous

(s) Peregrinatione Achaica inter co-
 mites Neronis, cum cantante eo aut dis-
 cederet saepius, aut praefens obdormisce-
 ret, gravissimam contraxit offensam : pro-
 hibitusque non contubernio modo, sed eti-
 am publica salutatione, recessit in parvam
 et deviam civitatem, quoad latenti, etiam-
 que extrema metuenti, provincia cum ex-
 exercitu oblata est. Percrebuerat Oriente
 toto vetus et constans opinio, esse in fa-
 tis, ut eo tempore Judaea profecti rerum
 potirentur. Id de Imperatore R. quantum
 eventu postea praedictum paruit, Judaei ad
 se trahentes rebellaverunt. Caesoque Praepo-
 sito, Legatum insuper Syriae proconsularem
 suppetias ferentem raptâ aquilâ fugaverunt.
 Ad hunc motum comprimendum cum ex-
 exercitu ampliore, et non instrenuo duce

opus esset, ipse potissimum electus est.
 Additis igitur ad copias duabus legionibus,
 octo alis, cohortibus decem, atque inter
 Legatos majore filio assumpto, ut primum
 provinciam attigit, proximas quoque con-
 vertit in se. Correcta statim castrorum
 disciplina, uno quoque et altero praelio
 tam constanter inito, ut in oppugnatione
 castelli lapidis ictum genu, scuto sagittas
 aliquot exceperit. . . . Et unus ex nobili-
 bus captivis Josephus, cum conjiceretur
 in vincula, constantissime asseveravit fore,
 ut ab eodem brevi solveretur, verum jam
 Imperatore. . . . Talis, tantâque cum fa-
 mâ in Urbem reversus, acto de Judaeis
 triumpho, consulatus octo veteri addidit,
Sueton. Vespasian. cap. 4. . . . 8.

“ merous armie, Vespasian was appointed for that service : who a-
 “ mong other commanders under him had his eldest son Titus.
 “ Having put his armie into good order, he entred upon the war
 “ with great vigour, and not without hazard to his own person, ha-
 “ ving been slightly wounded in an attack made at one of their
 “ towns, and received several darts upon his shield. Suetonius
 “ proceeds to relate the accession of Vespasian to the Empire, whilst
 “ he was in Judea, and takes notice of what Josephus, one of the
 “ Jewish prisoners, had beforehand said to him relating to that mat-
 “ ter. And he expressly mentions Vespasian’s triumph over the
 “ Jews at Rome.”

In his *Life of Titus*, he says, “ that (*t*) whilst he yet served un-
 “ der Vespasian, he took *Tarichea* and *Gamala*, two strong cities of
 “ Judea : and that having in an engagement lost his own horse, he
 “ mounted another, whose rider had been killed in fighting against
 “ him.” And he says, “ that (*u*) Titus having been left in Judea
 “ to compleat the reduction of that countrey, he in the last siege of
 “ Jerusalem, killed seven of the enemy with as many darts : and
 “ that he took that city on his daughter’s birth-day, and was then
 “ saluted by the soldiers with the title of Emperour.” He also says,
 “ that (*x*) Titus triumphed at Rome with his Father.”

Suetonius is a biographer. And therefore does not write of the
 Jewish

(*t*) Ex Quaesturae deinde honore legioni
 praepositus, Tarichaeam et Gamalam ur-
 bes validissimas Judaeae in potestatem re-
 degit : equo quadam acie sub feminibus
 amisso, alteroque insenso, cujus rector
 contra se dimicans occubuerat. *Tit.*
cap. 4.

(*u*) . . . et ad perdomandam Judaeam

relictus, novissima Hierosolymorum op-
 pugnacione vii propugnatores totidem sa-
 gittarum confecit ictibus : cepitque eam
 natali filiae suae, tanto militum gaudio ac
 favore, ut in gratulatione Imperatorem
 eum consalutaverint. *Ib. cap. 5.*

(*x*) Triumphavit cum patre, Censu-
 ramque gessit una. *Ib. cap. 6.*

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Jewish war so particularly, as an historian of another character might do. Nevertheless he may be justly reckoned a witness to the fulfillment of our Saviour's predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, and the overthrow of the Jewish people. He bears testimony to the Jewish war, and the occasion of it. He mentions the Generals employed in it, and the issue of it in the taking of Jerusalem, and the reduction of Judea, and the triumph thereupon at Rome.

In the Life of *Domitian*, whose reign began in the year 81. and ended in 96. Suetonius says: " And (y) beside others, the Jewish
" tax was exacted with the greatest severity, and was demanded of
" those who lived in the city according to the Jewish customs, with-
" out entring themselves as Jews, or who dissembling their original,
" had omitted to pay the tax laid upon that nation."

It is well known, that after (z) the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jewish people, wherever they dwelled, were required by Vespasian and Titus to pay that tribute to the Capitol at Rome, which they had been wont to pay for the use of the temple at Jerusalem. Among those, of whom this tax was now exacted, it is likely, there were divers sorts of men. Some Gentils, who had embraced Christianity, might be looked upon as Jews. These were under no obligation to pay this tax. Beside them, some Jews, who were become Christians, might think themselves excused from paying this tribute. Whether reasonably, or not, I do not determine. For according to the letter of the law, they were obliged to pay it, as be-
ing

(y) *Praeter ceteros, Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est: ad quem deferebantur, qui vel improfessi, Judaicam intra Urbem viverent vitam, vel dissimulatâ origine, imposita genti tributa non pependissent. Interfuisse me adolescentulum memini,*

cum a procuratore, frequentissimoque consilio, inspiceretur nonagenarius senex, ant circumsectus esset. Domitian cap. 12.

(z) *Vid. Joseph. De B. J. l. 7. cap. vii. §. 6. p. 419. Haverc.*

ing circumcised : though they might think, that in equity they had a right to plead an exemption. And beside all these, there might be some Jews, both by nation and religion, who declined this tax. These, I suppose, will not be vindicated by any, unless they scrupled to contribute to a Heathen Temple.

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To these several sorts of men, probably, Suetonius here refers. Nor can it be doubted, that some Christians met with sufferings upon this account, under the name and character of Jews, from whom they had received their religion. And, perhaps, this storie of Suetonius has a reference to *Domitian's* persecution of the Christians, commonly called the second persecution.

This (a) tax was not exacted with the same rigour under that good Emperour Nerva. But it was not abolished, as some have thought.

This passage ought to be understood as another testimonie, from the same writer, to the final overthrow of the Jewish people by the Romans, as Jesus had foretold.

V. Among the cruelties of the later part of *Domitian's* reign Suetonius mentions this. "And lastly, (b) he put to death his cou-

B b b 2

" sin

Domitian's Persecution of the Christians.

(a) . . . item *fiscus Judaicus*, ut Suetonio, Domit. 12. qui cum acerbissime ageretur sub Domitiano, JUDAICI FISCICALUMNIA SUBLATA est sub Nerva, ut testatur nummus apud Oiselim. . . Unde tamen plane cessasse hoc tributum non evincitur, sicut Begerus et Spanhemius jam demonstrarunt. *Reimar. annot. ad Dion. C. p. 1082. §. 43.*

(b) Denique Flavium Clementem pa-

truelem suum, contemptissimae inertiae, cujus filios, etiam tum parvulos successores palam destinaverat : et abolito priore nomine, alterum Vespasianum appellari jusserat, alterum Domitianum : repente, ex tenuissima suspicione, tantum non in ipso ejus Consulatu interemit. Quo maxime facto maturavit sibi exitium. *Domit. cap. 15.*

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“AN FLAVIUS CLEMENT, a man of an indolent temper even to contempt, whose sons, when they were as yet infants, he had publicly declared his successors, and changing their former names, he called the one *Vespasian*, and the other *Domitian*. Him he put to death on a sudden, upon a slight suspicion, when he was but just out of his Consulship. By which action, more than by any other, he hastened his own ruin.”

This happened in the year of our Lord (c) 95. Suetonius does not expressly say, that *Flavius Clement* was a Christian. That may be farther cleared up (*) hereafter. However, it may be argued from the character, here given of Clement, that he was *a man of an indolent temper, even to contempt*: that having been a reproach, frequently cast upon the Christians by Heathen people, that they were useless, and unprofitable to the publick: as we learn from (d) Tertullian, and (e) other ancient writers.

In this character of *Clement* there seems to be a censure of him for excessive indolence. But I think, the chief and direct intention of Suetonius is to aggravate the cruelty of Domitian, who put to death so near a relation, in whom there was not one spark of ambition, and therefore there could be no reason to fear any thing from him.

Before I shut up this article, I must observe some things for explaining the last cited passage of Suetonius.

Flavius

(c) Vide *Pagi ann. 96. num. ii. et Bafnag. ann. 95. n. iv.*

(*) See the chapter of *Dion Cassius*, in the third volume.

(d) Sed alio quoque injuriarum titulo expostulamur, et infructuosi in negotiis dicimur. *Tert. Ap. cap. 42.*

(e) Cum autem hunc Flavium Clementem contemptissimae inertiae hominem vocat Suetonius, eo ipso Christianum fuisse demonstrat. De quo injuriae in Christianos titulo, quod inertes, et inutiles, et infructuosi dicerentur, *Tertull. Ap. caps. 42. Torrent. in Sueton. loc.*

Flavius Clement was cousin-german to Domitian. There (f) were two brothers, *Flavius Sabinus*, and *Flavius Clement*, sons of *Flavius Sabinus*, Vespasian's elder brother. *Sabinus*, the elder of those two brothers, had been put to death by Domitian some while before, as is related by (g) Suetonius. The second was put to death now, as just related. The death of *Flavius Clement* is also mentioned by (h) Dion Cassius, as will be more particularly observed by us hereafter. It is also mentioned by (i) Philostratus, in his *Life of Apollonius Tyanaeus*, and as a thing that hastened the death of Domitian himself. And we ought to recollect here what we before saw in (*) *Juvenal*.

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Suetonius assures us, that *Domitian* had publicly declared the sons of this *Clement* to be his successors, and he changed their names, calling the one *Vespasian*, and the other *Domitian*. Undoubtedly, they are the two young persons, whom Domitian had committed to the care and institution of (k) *Quintilian*: who calls them the grandchildren of Domitian's sister. Domitian's only sister, *Domitilla*, died before Vespasian came to the Empire, as we learn from (l) Suetonius. But she must have left a daughter of the same name; whose

(f) Vid. Sueton. *Vespas.* cap. 12. et *Vitell.* cap. 15. Tacit. *Hist.* l. 3 cap. 65. Eutrop. l. 7. cap. 18. *Vidlor. de Caes.* cap. viii. *Joseph. de B. J.* l. 4. cap. x. §. 3. Conf. ib. cap. xi. §. 4.

(g) Flavium Sabinum alterum e patru-
elibus, [occidit] quod, &c. Sueton. *Do-*
mit. cap. x.

(h) . . . ἄλλας τε πολλὰς, καὶ τὸν Φλάβιον
Κλήμεντα ὑπατεύοντα, καίπερ ἀνέψιον ὄντα,
κατέσφαζεν ὁ Δομιτιανός. Dio. l. 67. c. 14.
p. 1112. al. p. 766.

(i) Εἰδὼν δὲ τοῖς Δομιτιανὸν ἤδη τῆς ἀν-

θρώπων προεδρία; Ἐτυχε μὲν γὰρ Κλή-
μεντα ἀπεκτονέας, ἀνδραῦπατον, ὃ τὴν ἀδελ-
φὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξεδάωκε. Philost. de *V. A.*
T. l. 8. cap. 25.

(*) p. 360. and 361.

(k) Cum vero mihi Domitianus Augus-
tus sororis suae nepotum delegaverit cu-
ram. Quintil. *Imp.* l. 4. Pr.

(l) Ex hac liberos tulit Titum, et Do-
mitianum, et Domitillam. Uxori et fi-
liae superstes fuit: atque utramque pri-
vatus amisit. Sueton. *Vespas.* cap. 3.

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whose sons therefore were her grandsons. What became of them afterwards, we are not informed.

Finally, Dion Cassius, in the place above cited, calls Clement *Consul*. Suetonius says, *he was put to death on a sudden, when he was just out of his Consulship*. But there is no disagreement between them in this. For (*m*) the ordinarie Consuls did not then serve out the whole year, but others were substituted in their room, after a few months, or a less space. However, the year was still reckoned with the names of the ordinarie Consuls, and they preserved the title throughout the whole year. Clement therefore was still Consul, though another, or several, one after another, had been substituted. As before said, Clement was put to death in 95. the year of his Consulship.

*The Sum
of his Te-
stimonie.*

VI. We have seen so many things in *Suetonius*, that it may not be improper to recapitulate. For he bears witness to the expulsion of the Jews and Christians out of Rome in the reign of *Claudius*: to the Persecution of the Christians in the time of *Nero*: to the Jewish war, and the reduction of Judea by *Vespasian* and *Titus*, and therein is a witness to the accomplishment of our Saviour's predictions, concerning the calamities coming upon that people. He likewise mentions the death of *Flavius Clement*, which we suppose to have happened in the time of *Domitian's persecution of the Christians*.

To all these things does *Suetonius* bear testimony, who is an historian of the best credit, and lived at the end of the first, and the begining of the second centurie.

Our

(*m*) *Vid. Pagi et Basnag. ut supra. not. (c) p. 666. et Reimar. in Dion Cass. p. 1112.*

Our next Author will be the Younger PLINY, at the begining
of the second centurie.

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I have placed *Suetonius* before him, and in this volume, because his testimonie has a near affinity with the particulars mentioned by Tacitus, and the two other last mentioned writers.



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